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# SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Journal of Social Study and Interpretation

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# SOCIAL FORCES

September, 1925

## THE LARGER CYCLE OF AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT<sup>1</sup>

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

THE story of man's occupation of the earth seems to be divided into two rather sharply marked periods—the ancient and the modern world. It is not altogether a distinction of time; somewhat it is of space. For more than half of mankind is living in the ancient world today for all practical purposes. We of Europe and the Western Hemisphere and of certain islands of the Western seas are proud of our modernity. Perhaps our pride is based too heavily upon the modern machinery that we use so universally. We are prone to forget that it is the universality of the use of machinery and not the mere use of machinery which differentiates us from our brothers of a darker skin. And we use machinery so generally in our modern civilization, diffuse its benefits so widely, share its profits somewhat equitably among all those whose work goes into our modern civilization, chiefly because we of the Western world are impregnated with an idea—the idea of democracy, which is, speaking broadly, Christianity

rather roughly institutionalized. Our keenest minds are inventors of machines because invention pays. Invention pays because we have so wide a market for machines. And our market is wide because we have so ordered our industry, our commerce, our institutions of government that the average man is a potential user and beneficiary of every profitable invention that comes from the brain of his fellows. We are fairly well levelled so that men are standardized in their living. Which is to say, we are brethren, not master and man; and that relation implies the acceptance of the Golden Rule of the philosophy of Christianity.

The difference between the ancient world and the modern world, wherever those worlds may exist in time or space, is the difference of ideals upon which the two worlds are founded. The ancient world seems to have risen upon the theory that physical force is man's final arbiter. The modern world seems to be growing upon the faith that ideas rule; that things of the spirit are unconquerable when they promote broader fellowships, more abundant living, more kindly grace in the works and ways of men.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. White will continue this discussion of "Some Cycles of Cathay" in the next number of *SOCIAL FORCES*.

These two worlds, the ancient and the modern world, so deeply different, in so far as they are separated by time, have their records of beginning and growth. We find these records imbedded in the most permanent form they could have taken—in the story of our western religion. It is curious to find that the story of the beginnings of the ancient world and the story of beginnings of the modern world are written in our Bible. To me at least it is immaterial whether these stories of beginnings, the story in Genesis, and the story in the Gospels of the New Testament, are actual records or symbolic myths. It seems quite as miraculous that the prophetic mind of man could divine the tremendous truths of the story of the seven days of creation as in Genesis or could have proclaimed the basic philosophy of a democratic civilization as in the Gospels and could set them forth symbolically and scientifically true, as it is miraculous that the Creator and Savior of humanity should have done the marvels which the Scriptures declare were done, and then inspired the heart of the man who set down these mighty epics.

So, without raising the question whether the story be symbolic fable or authentic history, let us examine the beginnings of this modern world. We find it most strikingly set forth in the story accredited in the New Testament to the writer Luke. To the writers of the other Gospels we must go for environing details. The story that Luke tells us is of two women of Nazareth: an old woman named Elizabeth "well stricken in years," the wife of a certain Zacharias, who "in the order of his course," among other things, executed the priest's office. The other woman was her younger and comelier cousin, Mary, the wife of a village carpenter. They sat in the stone hut where the elder woman dwelt and of

course the two were talking of their babies about to be born. They were poor, decent folk, these two expectant mothers, who lived in an oppressed land. Files of Roman soldiers passed upon the high road through their province going out to conquer the farther East. Plunder, rapine, murder, all the offenses of an invading army upon a defenseless and subject people these women saw, and their hearts were bitter. As motherhood came upon them with its solemnities, these women going about their daily work, yearning for a deliverer for their stricken land, voiced the anguish of their heart. And the story says that Mary, the younger, being newly wed, and of the lyric age, made a song. And a wonderful song it is, the song of the daughter of the tribe of Aaron there in that little stone hut upon the hillside of Nazareth. Cried the exultant Mary:

My soul doth magnify the Lord,  
And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my saviour.  
For he hath regarded the low estate of his hand-  
maiden. . . .  
For he that is mighty hath done to me great things.  
. . . .  
He hath showed strength with his arm;  
He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of  
their hearts.  
He hath put down the mighty from their seats,  
And exalted them of low degree.  
He hath filled the hungry with good things,  
And the rich he hath sent empty away.  
He hath holpen his servant Israel in remembrance of  
his mercy.

"And Mary," continues the narrative, "abode with her (cousin) about three months and returned to her house."

And so with the aspirations of those two women of Israel, daughters of the tribe of Aaron, the older woman carrying the child of her "stricken years," Mary in the joy of youth and love eagerly awaiting the fulfillment of her dream, there in the land of a shamed and captive people,

where the brilliant cruel pageant of the old world at the apex of its glory filed by their doors, burning upon their hearts the emblems of its power, there sat these two seers of a great hope that was to be a new order. And there with that pathetic exultation of Mary the modern world began.

This is declaring in poetical terms a fact which may be stated scientifically: That as man began to organize his life under law, instead of under the whim of his despots, he began to dignify his individual humanity, and as a corollary of the dignity which he was assuming, all men, even the most lowly, found in their hearts some aspiration toward justice. This aspiration began to make history with the opening centuries of the Christian era.

A new dynamic idea was born in the world when the common man felt and declared his rights. The death of Jesus of Nazareth on Calvary Hill outside of Jerusalem dramatized the idea of the rights of man, although it laid weight upon the duties of man. But when men are taught by the Golden Rule to treat others as equals, they naturally demand that others treat them as equals, and this demand for dignity of the individual human spirit slowly forced its way into the institutions of Europe.

The history of Europe from the time of Cæsar Augustus, who decreed "that all the world should be taxed," for nearly two thousand years has been the story of the struggle of man's spirit to attain its dignity. The struggle was first manifested in the realm of religion. For the state was too powerfully entrenched in force—the force of tradition, the force of arms, the force of property rights, for the altruistic ideals of the Nazarene Carpenter to affect the state at first. So His doctrine of the essential dignity of man's spirit

gathered to itself a dogma, a plan of salvation, a religious organization, many rituals, an elaborate system of taboos enforced by a hierarchy. This hierarchy finally overthrew the state. But the dogma, the plan of salvation, the taboos, all were levellers—all taught men that they were equal in spirit, equal in their obligations to God and man, equal in the next world by reason of duties done in this. Thus behind the shield of the Holy Church and its faith came the unconquerable aegis of the Golden Rule and the Beatitudes. And back of them by inexorable implication they brought democracy into the world.

The Holy Faith overshadowed the state. But democracy after the Reformation overthrew the temporal power of the Holy Faith. So with many cross-currents, with eddies that came from the externals of passing times and led nowhere, and in spite of obstructions that fell before it, the stream of human progress in that part of mankind known as the western world flowed swiftly toward the civilization that we know today and are pleased to call a Christian civilization; not alas for what it has attained, but for what it should attain.

For it is a gay, hard civilization, this western civilization, a machine-rattling, God-mocking civilization, that is just now going through a phase which is dangerous only if it is prolonged, a phase of cynical reaction against a vain and wicked war, and a futile punitive peace.

To many who have bound up their lives in the faith of an order that is passing this change of today seems decay. We need a larger faith that we may see the substance of things hoped for in the sad evidence of things not seen. The test of a man's faith comes not when he is fighting, but after he was won. To see that reaction as a mere pause of the current of life,



gathering strength for some new impulse toward unvisioned nobilities; to stand by and see unafraid one's ideals, like Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, all pass into the fiery furnace of realization, that is the mountain-moving faith. So, saluting unflinchingly all that is passing before us, let us be of stout heart; for tomorrow we shall smile at today's fears. What if in every field of human endeavor we see evidences that man is trying to close his heart to the appeal of brotherhood! Politics are highly divisory; shattered with factions, blocs, klans, and Heaven knows what of small exclusive organisms—but what then! Religion is threatened with intolerant schisms—All right, it is the way of the human heart before it begets its new ideals. Business is rejecting state regulation and taking Cain's attitude toward the public. Well—so be it. Pride goeth before destruction! In literature leadership is falling into the hands of a cult that is clearly on the side of the devil's own angels, the side that scoffs at any theory that there is a moral purpose guiding our destiny. So mote it be! Thus it was when they stoned the prophets. Art is full of ugliness, disharmonies, barbaric yawps crying out against the canons of beauty as the devils of sentimentality. All that we once aspired to be seems to be forgotten and only the baseness in what we are is exalted. Still let us be of good cheer. The world did not end with Sodom. Hard times are these, springing out of hard hearts. They tell us who man the watch towers that the reaction which is sweeping over Western civilization is bringing America, which for three centuries has been developing its own ideals, its own expressions of democracy, into alarming conformity to the European norm; that our morals are becoming Europeanized; that our politics is growing shamelessly cynical. In fear

the tribunes of liberty cry out that property rights never flaunted themselves more brazenly under Augustus Cæsar than they hail themselves masters of human destiny in America today. But we must have faith to know that indeed does the Lord guard the city and that the watchers do not watch in vain.

To renew our faith it may be well to go back to another day—a day in America when we were working out our own civilization—a mean thing perhaps, but our own—in our own way, after the visions in our own hearts. For surely in the swift progress of America during 300 years we may find so straight and clear a path that reviewing it one may bolster his belief in some purposeful guidance of humanity toward a more abundant life. Surely the expansion of opportunity to live freely, justly, happily, usefully, and in consequent self-respect, has been so steady and so wide in the three centuries of our occupation of this continent that we may well accept with certain sophisticated restrictions and a few amiable qualifications much of the gaudy dream of our fathers of the "manifest destiny" of our country. Therefore it may be wise to recall that earlier day; to consider American civilization as it once worked itself out, not of course independently of Europe, but synchronously, differing in degree somewhat, as our background of heredity and environment differ from the European background.

The purpose of these pages shall be to withdraw from the consideration of the onward sweep of progress as it affected our European cousins during the last century and a quarter and to take thought of our own peculiar problems, as they have developed. Thus taking thought of ourselves as Americans we may revive the hope that despite the machines which are huddling humanity together upon the



planet there may be some peculiar use for America as America in the scheme of things, closely interrelated with the world, a part of the world, but still ourselves.

So admitting, of course, that we are new, that we are of necessity crude, that we have the savage faults of our strength, bringing here no faint denial that fifty years of Europe are better than a cycle of Cathay,—let us review those cycles. The surface of humanity has changed, but the heart of man is changeless. Maybe there is in a study of these formative years of our Republic something to be learned that will help us understand our land, and even the world that is to be.

We may find here in this story of our own growth something that will help us to understand the ways of human de-

velopment. We may even see in these cycles of Cathay, in the two or three hundred years of our journey into the wilderness of this continent, some epitome of the evolution of the democratic ideal—some typical life history of the spiritual plasm of our era that will help us to know our destiny, to recognize our way in the world to follow the light that God has given us.

Of course, in casting our history into these cycles one has to be arbitrary. There are restrictions and qualifications in any statement of historical theory. But these three periods of our history do seem to have a common Spiritual impulse and if linked may explain the story of America's rise and growth. Possibly the Spiritual impulse back of us may even forecast our destiny.

## THE LIMIT OF AMERICAN POPULATION

HOWARD B. WOOLSTON

THERE is no social problem of greater practical importance than determination of the rate and limit of population growth. Economists, statesmen, and social workers acknowledge the significance of this question. Statisticians, biologists and sociologists offer various suggestions as to the probable trend and possible outcome of the movement. But comparatively few students have the temerity to make quantitative statements concerning the future increase and ultimate number of people who may inhabit the world or its subdivisions. Some time ago the writer was tempted to estimate the limit of population in the United States. His Tempter suggested first, criticism of previous estimates, and then, production of original

calculations. This paper is evidence of the author's aberration from the narrow path of statistical fact into the broad field of mathematical speculation.

Since Professors Pearl and Reed have recently set up an hypothesis for calculating the rate and limit of population growth, their premises offer a convenient approach to the problem. So let me remind you of their assumptions by way of adopting others. Their position is briefly as follows:<sup>1</sup> (1) The habitable area of the earth's surface is limited. Hence (2) the number of people that can live on it is finite. This establishes an upper asymptote for the population curve. (3) The lower limit of population is zero.

<sup>1</sup> *Metrion*, vol. III, no. 1, pp. 6-19; also Pearl, *Studies in Human Biology*, pp. 567-569.

This fixes a lower asymptote. (4) Advancing culture epochs increase possibilities of growth. This cumulates successive cycles. (5) The general shape of the curve is that of a probability ogee above a time axis.

Tested by census returns for several countries and a colony of fruit flies in a milk bottle, the theory seems to fit the facts. Calculating the growth of population in the United States by their earlier formula, Pearl and Reed find that this country passed its point of increasing additions about April 1, 1914.<sup>2</sup> They estimate that, unless some unforeseen change in methods of production or standards of living occur within the interval, the limit of physical self maintenance in America will be reached with a population of approximately 197,000,000 about the year 2100.

This procedure assumes that population growth can be determined with biological formulae. It is essentially a restatement of Malthus, with a better mathematical superstructure. We are told again that population is limited by means of subsistence; that where food is abundant people tend to increase rapidly; and that when resources fail, increase is checked. These general propositions are taken for granted, and are illustrated by a curve that shows close approximation of data to the norm of frequency selected. The curve is then projected forward and backward to determine dates at which it approaches limits fixed by resources available with methods now used. In brief, the problem is simplified to division of local crops by inhabitants, and to choice of the most probable progression in numbers to produce a reasonable quotient within a definite period.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, June 15, 1920, pp. 275-288; also Pearl, *Studies in Human Biology*, pp. 589-590.

Without attempting to criticise their calculations, let us examine the premises upon which these investigators proceed. Granting that the habitable area of the earth and of its subdivisions is limited, we may fairly ask, "How great is it?" Certainly such places as are now accessible, arable and healthful can not be considered as including all future dwelling space. The sum of natural resources comprised within any area is also doubtless a finite quality; but the possible uses of these are not necessarily fixed by past experience. Dimensions are significant only when measured in terms of utility.

Hence it follows that the number of people who can maintain themselves upon a given territory is finite but indeterminate. It is admitted that economic self-support through mechanical industry and trade may extend the habitability of an area far beyond its capacity to feed the local population.<sup>3</sup> Otherwise all cities, states like Rhode Island, and countries like England would be impossible. Our authors grant that such growth may continue provided other less densely populated areas produce excess subsistence.<sup>4</sup> But this is a large proviso, which carries us far beyond calculations of resources within restricted boundaries. In other words, the upper limit of population for any restricted area shifts with social organization—an historic fact which is later developed.

Likewise it may be held that the lower limit of all populations is not actually zero. For instance, a manufacturing group is impossible until a considerable basis has been laid in agriculture and transportation. Indeed, a comparatively large accumulation of capital and labor

<sup>3</sup> See Pearl, *Biology of Death*, p. 256; also, *Studies*, pp. 590-2.

<sup>4</sup> *Predicted Growth of New York*, p. 12. (Committee on Plan of New York, 1923.)

may be necessary in order to develop local resources sufficiently to support any settlement within the region. Many mining communities well illustrate this point. Apparently the lower asymptote also shifts.<sup>5</sup>

In their later formula, our authors have recognized advancement in culture levels, with attendant possibilities of additional population growth within any area. But they have not constantly born in mind that increasing wealth may be absorbed by permanent improvements and higher standards of consumption. These artificial demands do affect migration and check genetic rates by limiting births. This seems to have been occurring in America for some time. By introducing different constants for various cycles of growth, Pearl and Reed have added to the flexibility of their earlier formula. But they have also weakened its conclusiveness as an expression of the law of population. For if the growth of human population is affected by economic and social changes,<sup>6</sup> it is not due merely to the action of biological causes that can be studied in a laboratory.<sup>7</sup>

Limiting values have apparently been calculated in one of two ways: either by assuming a constant fund of resources, or by projecting the current movement toward a balancing point. But if the fund has differed from one epoch to another, it may do so again. And if the rate of movement has changed assymetrically in the past, it may continue so to vary in the future. Especially must one guard against fixing too narrowly points of flexion and rest in population curves. If the inflection occurs in time of crisis, as during the late war, it remains

for years an open question whether the changed trend is merely a temporary displacement, due to fluctuations in migration and genetic rates, or is a permanent alteration in direction due to destruction of life and resources. Moreover, since both ends of the census curve can be checked for a comparatively short distance, it is doubtful how closely a long projection will fit the facts under changed conditions. It may be that other types of construction will define a large part of the movement and satisfactorily describe its approximation to maximum and minimum values.

In brief, it appears likely that space, time and numbers are not factors of constant value in determining the growth and development of local groups. Such determinants must be considered not only in relation to the organization, standards and resources of the community observed, but also in connection with its position in the world's economy.

Apparently what Pearl and Reed have measured is the rise of numbers during the last century, based upon expanding agriculture and accelerated by mechanical industry. The recent slackening of increments in settled countries, which they have noted, is probably due to relatively thorough exploitation of natural resources by prevailing methods. Certainly in the instances presented,<sup>8</sup> we have to do either with countries that are still largely agricultural, as Japan, Hungary and the United States, or those which have also developed extensive urban trade and manufacture, as Belgium, England and Saxony.

The same process in varying stages is evident in different sections of America. The Northeastern states show a type of population growth not unlike that of

<sup>5</sup> *Predicted Growth of New York*, p. 19; also, Pearl, *Studies*, p. 576.

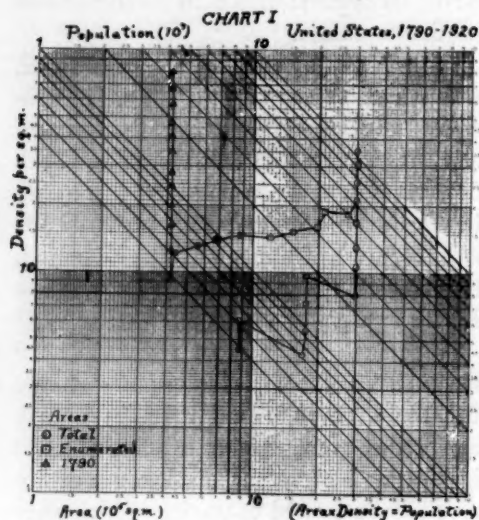
<sup>6</sup> Pearl, *Studies in Human Biology*, p. 587.

<sup>7</sup> Compare *ibid.*, p. 585.

<sup>8</sup> See Pearl, *Studies in Human Biology*, chap. 25.



England; whereas the South Central section resembles more nearly the trend of Southern Europe. Now there is no question that the former areas produce less food per capita than the latter. But it is also patent that the industrial districts have denser populations and add to them larger increments than do the farming areas. This comparison indicates a way out of the milk bottle stage of population growth, namely by means of machinery and social organization to lift the lid. Since it is granted that dense settlements



do not raise their food in their own back yards, we may regard the fixing of limits upon a local maintenance basis as of secondary interest in discussing the growth of industrial sections. Such procedure indicates a margin of safety for independent development. But like a speed limit, between control points, its interpretation may be rather elastic.

Having cited the dubious conditions under which comprehensive calculations apply, let me briefly indicate another position. By way of preface the writer admits his inability to estimate the sum total of natural resources and population

growth for the entire world, which alone fix limits of the problem. Neither does he claim the gift of prophecy to foretell the future course of human development in America. All that he contends for is the freedom of social statisticians to gather data in the sunshine of reason, and not to be confined to culture tubes or restricted by hobbles of ingenious formulae. Our present task is not to state a universal law of growth, but to estimate the probable limits of population in the United States within the next hundred years. This we may attempt upon the assumption that conditions prevailing during fifty years preceding the World War do not change materially within the ensuing period.

First let us note that the present land area of Continental United States is nearly three and a half times as great as it was in 1790, and the area of census enumeration is more than seven times its original extent. Chart I shows this rapid extension of territory until 1850. If we consider merely the population within the area covered by the first Federal census, we find that by 1900 it had multiplied about eight and a half times, and had attained an average density of more than eighty persons per square mile. Meanwhile, within the additional two and a half million square miles (first completely enumerated in 1890) more than forty-two million people had settled at an average density of nearly seventeen per square mile. To speak of Continental United States as reckoned since 1890 as though it were identical with the territory considered a century before may be allowable in history, but not in geography. This is simply not the same country. Its land area has changed, and it cannot be treated as constant for population growth.

Next let us consider the increase of numbers within continental boundaries in



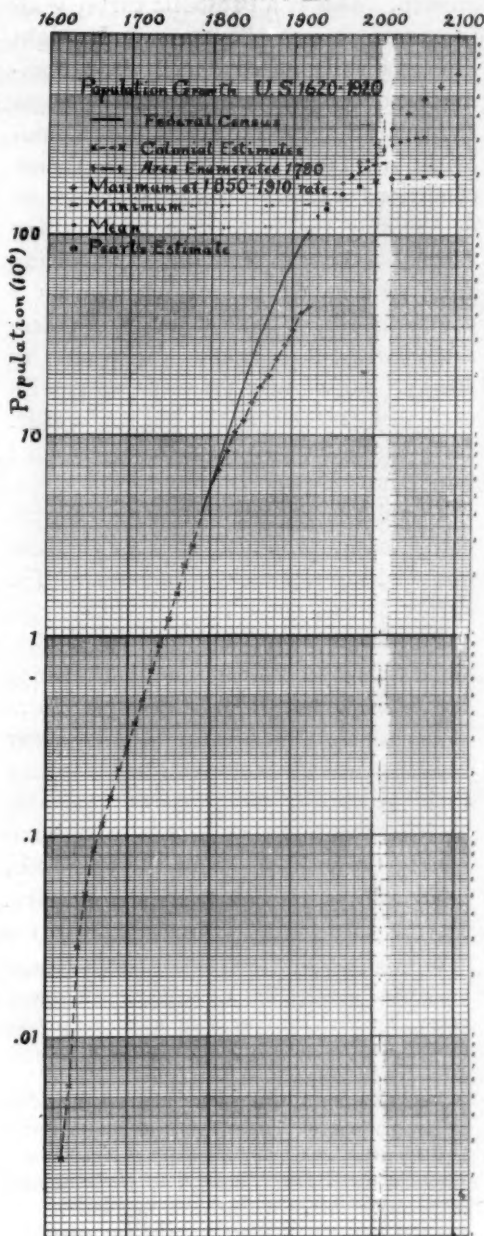
order to see the general nature of its trend. For this purpose we may use colonial counts and estimates that carry the movement back well toward the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>9</sup> Such figures are valuable for checking later calculations of growth limits.

Chart II shows on semi-logarithmic coördinates the ratio of increase from 1620 to 1920. It is remarkable that from 1660 to 1860 the rate of growth was practically constant, being approximately 34 per cent each decade, which doubled the numbers about every twenty-three and a half years. This phenomenal growth was cited by Malthus as an illustration of a freely expanding population, that is, one whose increase is not checked by the limits of available land.<sup>10</sup> After 1860 the rate of increase fell off, and has continued to diminish until it was less than 15 per cent between the last two censuses. How can we measure the probable future trend of this changing curve?

As before suggested, it seems reasonable to limit our calculations to the period since 1850, because before that date this country comprised only about three fifths of its present territory. Moreover it is patent that methods of transportation and industry changed markedly during the latter half of the nineteenth century. This transformation unquestionably altered current standards of living. Finally, we may omit from calculation the last census, because circumstances during and after the war affected vital rates, the flow of immigration and our general economic

situation. We must either assume that such variations will be continuous, or that the prior trend more nearly represents a persistent movement of population in this country. Accepting these ter-

CHART II.



<sup>9</sup> See *A Century of Population Growth* (U. S. Census Bureau), p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> This classic example of the genesis of a farming country has furnished the basis for many calculations of continuous growth at uniform rates, which apparently do not hold indefinitely for settled communities.

ritorial and historic restrictions, we may compute projected limits for the curve.<sup>11</sup>

Assuming that the slackening ratio of increase noted from 1860 to 1910 continues without additional retardation, we find a moving upper limit for population growth. This is a parabolic curve, with its vertex at zero about 1775. Its right limb gradually approximates the ascending line of census returns, which it engages and projects upward to nearly 640 millions by the year 2100. This maximum assumes conditions of increase comparable to those determining the speed of a body falling through a medium of gradually increasing density. But we cannot regard such a course as likely to be maintained indefinitely without enormous dissipation of energy. So we may represent its modification by calculating the pull of another force which retards the moving mass and which may swing it into a new orbit.

This slackening moment may be roughly computed by projecting another parabola on semi-logarithmic coördinates.<sup>12</sup> The vertex of this curve is approximately at 230 millions about the year 2017. But since we may consider this as describing a possible lower limit, the actual locus of the population curve may fall anywhere between the two projected lines. Taking their geometric mean as a reasonable position, we find that it rises to approximately 310 millions about the year 2060.

To answer provisionally the problem set for this paper, I estimate that the

<sup>11</sup> These computations have been made by simple geometrical constructions upon logarithmic coördinates. No effort has been made to employ refined mathematical formulæ. The patient analyser may check results from official data.

<sup>12</sup> Reasons for assuming that rates of genetic increase approximate parabolic curves are suggested in the writer's article on "Dynamics of Population," *Journal of Social Forces*, January, 1924. Translation of parabolic functions from semi-log. intervals to cartesian coördinates gives a curve not essentially different from that of Pearl and Reed.

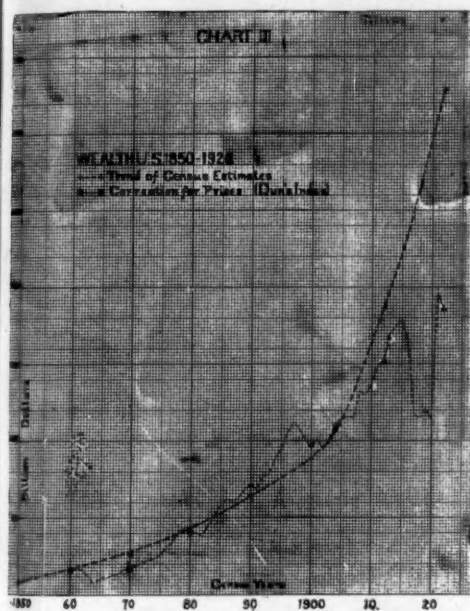
population of the United States by the year 2000 will probably be between 230 and 283 millions, with a likelihood of its being about 255 millions. It will be noted that all these figures are greater than those presented by Pearl and Reed. They do not seem to have shown conclusive reasons for fixing an upper limit at 200 millions. If, however, we assume that changes in population trend produced by the World War persist, a much lower turning point may be located in the third quarter of the present century. In this case, calculated mean values fall below the numbers presented by Pearl and Reed. Since both they and the writer agree that continuation of such fluctuation is improbable in view of our prior national development, we may dismiss this possibility as unlikely.

It seems useless to push such calculations further, because we cannot tell what new forces promoting growth or decay within the group may develop long before the dates mentioned. The only point in making these estimates is to show that with moving limits we obtain reasonable results different from those derived by assuming that habitable area, economic conditions and standards of living persist unchanged during long periods of time. Moreover we cannot assert that local groups will always either increase or remain stationary. Neither dare we say that symmetrical rates of increase and decline are characteristic of all population growth.

Having conducted this statistical skirmish, discretion would suggest retiring behind the wide range of our limits and waiting until some irritated mathematician drives us out with an enfilade of least squares. But in traversing this ground we have come upon certain interesting data that tempt us to hold our position. Let us dig into the economic facts.

Since it is granted that available resources determine the size of population, if we can measure these we may find a correlated quantity to support our estimate. Now national wealth is a general expression for the value of collective commodities stated in terms of money. We have nine reasonably accurate official estimates of wealth in the United States from 1850 to 1922 inclusive. Correcting these figures by wholesale price indices for standard articles, we obtain a fairly reliable measure of the basis for national

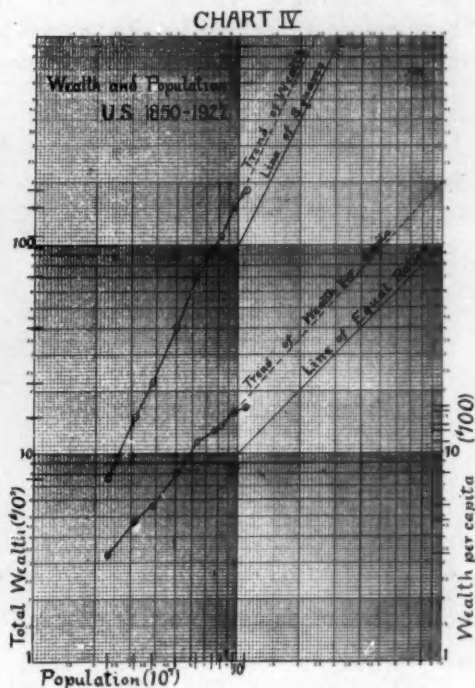
cated, we obtain a figure showing the relative rates of increase of the three quantities.<sup>14</sup> The slant of the lower diagonal line in Chart IV indicates that per capita wealth in the United States increased more rapidly than population. This fact is shown more clearly in the same chart by the upper diagonal, which demonstrates that total wealth increased almost as the square of population. The latter statement offers a significant sug-



purchasing power within the period covered by our selected population figures. Chart III shows the general trend of the gross estimates, and also its modification by Dun's index.<sup>13</sup>

Correlating on double logarithmic coordinates the corrected figures for total and average per capita wealth with those for population between the dates indi-

<sup>13</sup> These positions have been calculated with a slide rule, which gives reasonable accuracy for the third digit—a scale adequate for graphic purposes.



gestion to Malthusians. If wealth grows by involution while population multiplies, limitation of area may be compensated by convenience and comfort. Moreover, this principle might help explain the checking of natural increase. For as standards of comfort become more luxu-

<sup>14</sup> For greater accuracy population figures should also be corrected by indices expressing the proportion of producers (e.g., adult male wage earners or child-bearing married women). Such refinements may be left for enthusiastic calculators.

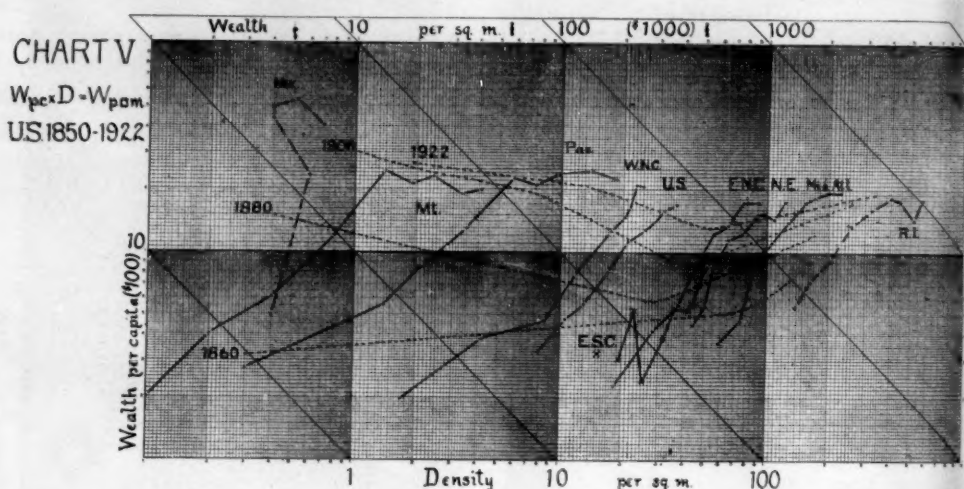


rious, they apparently retard the reproduction of offspring. It is as though an organism developed an elaborate shell which later restricts its growth.

By projecting the wealth curve according to the method employed for population, we find support for this hypothesis. The independent construction of probable future wealth values produces a corresponding locus for the population curve, which approximates fairly well the points before described. Hereby we seem to have gained a foothold for the method of moving limits and a presumption in favor

The trend of the line indicating growth in wealth per square mile for the country as a whole shows by its inclination to the axes measuring its two factors that the value per unit of area increased approximately as the squares both of density and also of per capita wealth. This demonstration confirms our position that development of collective resources may be as important for population growth as absolute numbers or total area.

The curves for different sections of the country bring out graphically the steady increase of wealth in the older North-



of a social modulus in plotting population growth.

Let us examine this economic factor further. If we divide population by area, and wealth by both, we find a useful expression for studying the relations of these three elements, i.e.,  $\text{density} \times \text{wealth per capita} = \text{wealth per unit of area}$ . Plotting on logarithmic coördinates, these data for the United States as a whole and for its principal subdivisions, we have the curves presented in Chart V.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Figures for per capita wealth have been corrected for property not taxed (1850-70), for currency fluctuation (1870) and for price changes (1860-1922). Densities for intercensal years (1904, 1912, 1922) have been estimated by proportions.

eastern states, the disastrous effects of the Civil War in setting back economic development and retarding population in the South, and the phenomenal rise of the farther West both in average wealth and density. Evidently wealth and density are correlated, for where the rate of growth for wealth has been rapid, increasing density appears to have attended it.<sup>16</sup>

The dotted horizontal lines, which indicate the trend of all the states at twenty-year intervals, display more clearly

<sup>16</sup>  $r = +0.445 \pm 0.178$ . Since the form of the instances is not rectilinear, this expression does not show their real correspondence.



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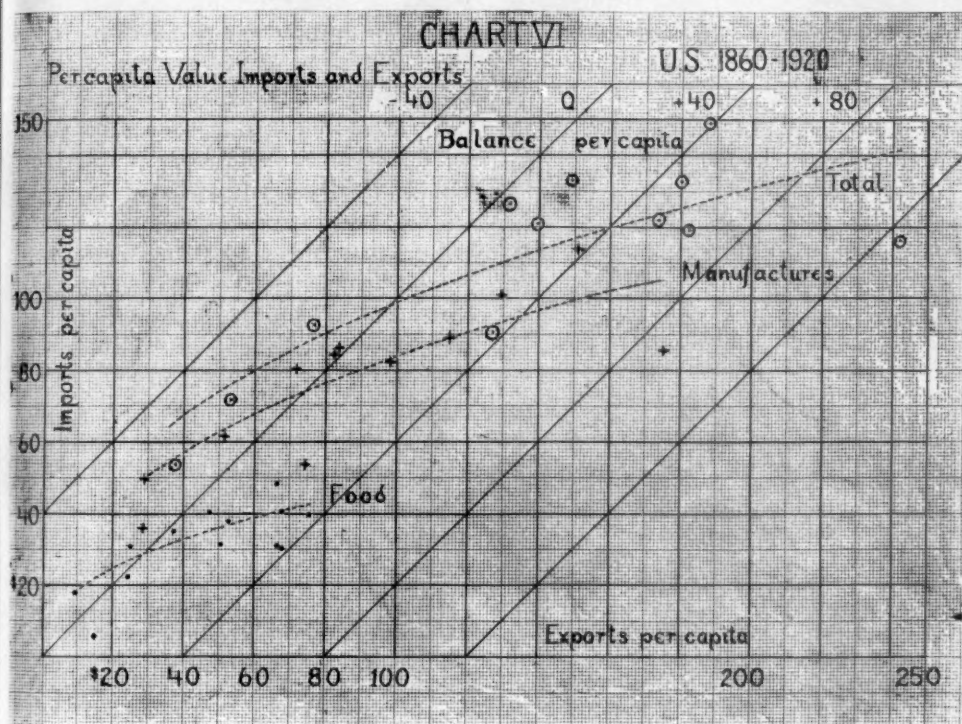
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the temporal sequence in development throughout the country. Their successive positions bring out the rapid growth of prosperity in the new West and its subsequent diffusion among a settled agricultural population. The depression due to destruction of life and property in the South is emphasized by the sag in the middle of the lines after 1860. It will be noted that this drop is gradually leveling out. But the upturn in the populous

a new country. Its abundant wealth rapidly attracts settlers. The group at first adopts rough extractive methods, which soon divide and lower the shares of each member. Then the people buckle down to broadcast farming. As cheap land is exhausted, diminishing returns begin to appear. When farms are worth over \$50 an acre, and the country is peopled at the rate of more than eight families to the square mile, a turning



East seems also due to improved methods of production, which brought added wealth to this growing industrial section, even before the Civil War. The dashed curves at both ends of the trend lines illustrate outstanding cases of development. Nevada shows low density with high per capita wealth, and Rhode Island displays high rates in both.

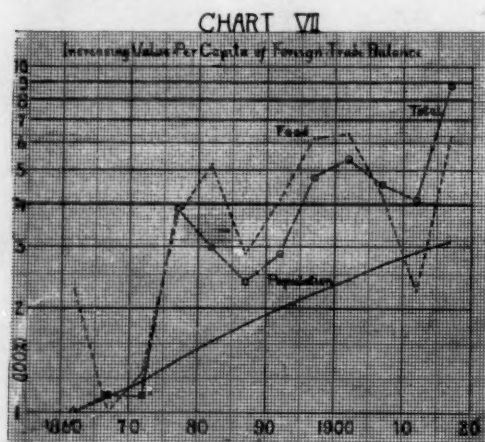
These lines suggest how rich natural resources have induced pioneers to exploit

point seems to be reached.<sup>17</sup> One must work hard on the land to make it pay or get another job. So restless and ambitious country folk press into the urban labor market. There, under skilled management, they help pile up values in trade, transport and industry, which accelerate city growth. So, too, they

<sup>17</sup> This point seems to shift with the development of scientific agriculture. Its progress can be roughly traced by the bend in the trend lines.

acquire higher standards of living, which raise the level of wealth from one generation to the next.

This familiar history is fairly well outlined by a few descriptive curves, without introducing complex formulae. If any one is interested in their future direction, he may study the projections of all the state lines of growth. In order to do so profitably, the investigator will probably have to consider development in transportation, industry and standards of living, as well as general biological principles.



So far we have assumed that food supply and vital rates will be taken care of in the economic process of national development. But we cannot leave the field without testing our position on the point of control over means of subsistence. Otherwise we may be accused of ignoring the fundamental issue, which may be put in this form: "How long can the population of the United States continue to increase after exhausting the food supply?" Apparently no other form of wealth will meet the need for victuals.

The obvious reply to this question is to invoke the compensations of foreign trade. Whether or not other countries will continue to supply our growing needs

for food, we may leave to the clairvoyant. Let us try to determine how large is the account upon which we can draw in case of need.

We may divide our imports and exports into two main classes: food and manufactures. If we subtract the values of food products from total amounts for each year's trade, the remainder is the value of these other goods. Chart VI shows how this affects the amounts when stated in terms of dollars' worth per capita.<sup>18</sup> It can readily be seen that if this country neither exported nor imported food, trade in other materials and manufactures, as indicated by the middle curve, would measure our foreign commerce. But if we have a surplus or deficit of edibles, such amounts must be added to our credit or debit account. The general trend of our balance in all three phases of international trade is shown by the smoothed curves that cut the diagonal lines of net surplus and deficit to unequal degrees.

The main point of this exhibit is to make evident the rapid growth of exports as compared with imports. It also shows the very considerable margin between food surplus and balance of values receivable for other goods. Such demonstration is desirable in view of a pessimistic notion, current in some quarters, that this country is nearing the end of its resources. I do not think it can be shown that we are slackening our increase from fear of starvation. Certainly decreasing farm acreage per capita is no sure indication of stationary agriculture. It may actually reflect a poor market for

<sup>18</sup> Average amounts for five-year periods are given in the *Statistical Abstract* for 1922, pp. 354-5. Estimates of population for the mid-year were obtained from the same source. The median yearly price index for each period was used to correct money values.

abundant food stuffs. Even if it be granted that agriculture in the United States has entered upon a period of diminishing returns, this does not prove that nourishment per capita may not increase. That is a matter of proportionate change of rate in growth of population and food stuffs.

There is one serious defect in this exhibit, however. It does not show the changing relations in strictly temporal sequence. It follows the general chronological order; but the dates shift back and forth along the trend lines. If we put the percentages for net gain per capita above their low points on semi-log coördinates by years, the curves wave up and down like a huge letter M. Breaks in the food line coincide fairly closely with those for the general balance, showing that comestibles were dealt with as articles of trade rather than necessities of life. Otherwise the two trends would be correlated inversely. Our effort to produce and export additional food during the World War shows how politics may influence agriculture.<sup>19</sup> These peaks and hollows show the effects of war, tariff policy and financial panic. Assuredly such events are not to be explained upon purely biological grounds. Yet we know that they effect vital rates and immigration. The effort to smooth out all such irregularities may result in concealing valuable hints on causes of variation in population growth.

But even if we have found grounds for holding that economic conditions affect rates of human increase, the question still remains, Can we depend upon outside sources to send us increasing supplies of food in exchange for manufactures? Here

is where the writer murmurs his apologies, makes his bow and leaves the subject. It may be, as East concludes,<sup>20</sup> that the world's saturation point will be reached in a century; or in four hundred and fifty years, as Knibbs calculates.<sup>21</sup> Evidently that depends upon the relative rates of increase in many different countries, upon their respective progress in the arts, and upon their readiness to trade in food stuffs with us. We can conceive of a nation living by conquering, exploiting or developing its neighbors' resources. But this introduces many contingencies and takes us far beyond the limits of the United States. We must therefore leave such reckoning to bolder calculators. The world at large is scarcely yet safe for innocent statisticians.

In closing, we may indicate certain general considerations which this reconnaissance suggests. They may prove useful to hardier spirits who enter the field.

1. Temporary local limits of population may be transcended by migration, productive industry, rational distribution of wealth and intelligent regulation of numbers. These factors supplement the basis of area with conditions of social organization.

2. The number of people that can be supported within a given area is determined by their economic resources and standards of living. These may be gauged by wealth and income.

3. Population varies with the type of industry and trade developed within and about political units. Such economic opportunity may be measured by proportionate numbers in different occupations, capital invested and flow of goods.

4. The rate of increase for any group

<sup>19</sup> See Chart VII. For details consult Pearl, *The Nation's Food*, chap. 8; also Bullock, Williams and Tucker, "Balance of Trade in U. S.," *Rev. Econ. Stat.*, vol. I, pp. 215-266.

<sup>20</sup> *Mankind at the Crossroads*, p. 69.

<sup>21</sup> *Mathematical Theory of Population*, p. 455.



depends upon its composition and character as well as its absolute numbers. Sex, age and marital condition, temperament and tradition, obviously influence population growth.

5. So called natural limits are shifted by pressure of population through accumulation of wealth, development of

technique and social control. This seems to be the teaching of human history.

After this excursion, my conclusion is brief, and I trust, now not pointless. A fixed limit for population growth appears to be arbitrary and adventitious; for in the words of the old astronomer, "It seems to move."

## AN EDUCATIVE PROGRAM FOR WORLD PEACE

JEROME DAVIS

**I**F THE world is ever to be free from war, it must be through the creation of intercommunication, mutual understanding, like-mindedness and international goodwill. Disasters can be averted only if the peoples of the world have a comprehension of international problems and are willing to make the necessary effort to try to solve them. Owing to the growth of intercommunication through commerce, immigration, and the improved technique of radio and aeroplane, the educational standards of one country are of vital importance to all the rest. In the past, conflict and misunderstanding have been frequent because each nationalistic group was attempting to follow an individual pattern of conduct in an international world. We have used the state as an outlet for the preservation of our individual egoism. In our modern world this is dangerous in the extreme. We must find an international prophylactic against vindictive hatreds, nationalistic ambitions, and schemes for racial self-aggrandizement. This can only be found through some educative process.

For a long time the socialists have had their internationals—today we are confronted with the Third Communist International fully organized and with large sums of money at its disposal. It is high

time that the educational forces of the world united on a constructive campaign to banish illiteracy, misunderstanding, and destructive propaganda and to build a genuine world friendship. Fortunately there has already been held the first meeting of the World Federation of Education Associations whose purpose it was "to produce a better understanding among the nations to develop goodwill; to conserve the integrity of all the nations, to extend educational privileges and to develop those ideals conducive to lasting peace." The work of this Federation must be strongly supported and it must have a permanent office and staff. A World Congress on Education, if called in the proper way, would focus public attention on the Federation and ensure the crystallized support of public opinion throughout the world. The Federation should also be able to secure generous financial assistance which is essential if its program and ideals are to be translated into practical achievement.

It is almost self-evident that these ideals cannot be attained as long as large numbers of people within any nation remain illiterate. Any program for lasting peace must take this into account and bring every possible pressure to bear on backward groups. The fixing of a



minimum standard of illiteracy would be but the first step in the world campaign.

In order that we may better appreciate the achievements of other countries, we desperately need an interchange of reliable news about the best things that each is thinking and doing. In fact, the best that the social heritage of every race can offer should be the heritage of all. Already the soldiers have sensed this need. The *Federation Interallies des Anciens Combattants* representing all the Allied war veterans meeting in October, 1922, passed the following resolution which was also unanimously endorsed by the Fourth Annual Convention of the American Legion. "In view of the distorted political reports tending to unbalance the public mind, we recommend that there shall be established by the Fidac a news-disseminating bureau with representatives in every country." Such a bureau, admirable as it may be when established, should be supplemented by a careful scientific and far-reaching organization which would affect the educational institutions as well as the press by presenting the true facts accurately and sympathetically.

At present we are forced to rest content with what our newspapers can give us. No doubt they try to do their best under the strain of the expense of foreign correspondents and cables, in addition to the indifference and provincialism of their readers, but it is woefully inadequate for world citizenship. Common observations and common sense afford an opportunity for checking the facts about local situations, but not international ones. Why should it not be possible for the best teachers in the universities throughout the world to make a genuine contribution towards solving this problem? Surely they are equipped if anyone is to report facts accurately and impartially.

#### A NEWS EXCHANGE BUREAU

To make this proposal effective it would be necessary to organize a news exchange bureau in connection with the League of Nations or the World Congress on Education. The outstanding educational association in each nation should then appoint eminent scientists or teachers who would send a bi-monthly news-letter to the central office on the most significant developments within the nation in each of several important fields. These could be extended as seemed wise but probably should include most of the following: (1) government, (2) labor and capital, (3) social movements, (4) the fine arts, (5) education, (6) health, (7) religion, and character education. If this number were selected, it would mean that seven eminent professors or scientists in each country would send into the central office every two weeks brief statements regarding the most significant events within their own specialization.

This international task should not interfere with the regular activity of the authorities chosen, for the news-letter would consume relatively little time and they would all be familiar with what was happening along the lines of their own particular interest in any case. Where a country was very large, if it seemed best, men could be appointed from the same field to represent widely separated districts. In all probability it would be unnecessary to attempt such duplication at the start. It should be left to each nation to determine the question of compensation. As soon as the mechanism had once been regularly established, a bi-monthly bulletin containing the information received should be printed in one or more languages to be agreed upon. It could then be sent to all the important educational institutions in the world and

be used for lectures and classroom discussion. The expense involved is small and the results are incalculable. It seems probable that if an appropriation could be secured (from one of the foundations or elsewhere) to administer the service for one year, it could thereafter be put upon a self-supporting basis. Large numbers of schools, churches, libraries, and private individuals would undoubtedly subscribe even if there were a small charge to cover the cost. This material would be far more reliable and up-to-date than anything which is available now. Articles appearing in the magazines are naturally a somewhat chance assortment, and the press as now organized is, of necessity, more interested in popular and sensational "news." It would furnish to the teacher, both elementary and advanced, a periodic compendium of the best that others were doing in their own and allied fields. It would be a bond uniting the teachers of every land and helping them to share a cosmopolitan outlook with their students and pupils. In the long run it should ensure the nation against extreme outbursts of provincialism. In addition to its value in educational work, undoubtedly a great deal of the material would also be welcomed by the magazines and newspapers of each country. Considering how many wars have been stimulated and embittered by waves of hysteria due to false information, the proposed mechanism should go far in creating international goodwill and preventing future conflict.

#### INTERNATIONAL TEXT-BOOK COMMISSIONS

Such a bureau might also appoint international text-book commissions in every branch of knowledge where there is real hope of coming to a substantial measure of agreement on the content of a text for international use.

We need to throw the enlightened intelligence of mankind on our problems. An American general who served through the World War has well said "Our *school histories* should be rewritten. Our very conception of *patriotism* should be revised." If a certain number of uniform world text-books could be prepared it would enormously increase mutual understanding and like-mindedness. It would, in effect, short-circuit the expert information of the best minds and place it at the service of the entire world.

A committee of the Carnegie Trust in Paris has recently made a study of the texts now being used in the primary and secondary schools of Europe. They have investigated books on history, geography, ethics, citizenship, anthologies and readers. They find a substantial number now being used were written in the heat of national resentment and hatred and are neither scientific nor impartial. Sensing the need for reform certain teachers in France and Germany have issued an appeal to their fellows calling for a sympathetic educational program of international friendship. They recognize that "it depends on the German and French teachers of both sexes to teach the younger generation mutual understanding." M. Prudhommeaux proposes that an International Ministry for public education shall be established in the League of Nations. The need that these educators have sensed should be met.

Commissions should be established in the following subjects which are capable of being studied from the world viewpoint: history, geography, ethics, and the entire subject of international relations including the creation of goodwill and the elimination of war. To explain concretely the workings of such a plan, let us suppose that a leading historian from each of several countries, such as, perhaps,

England, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Russia, were appointed and could meet together during the summer. It should be possible for the group of scholars to outline and eventually prepare a joint world history which would be scientific and yet acceptable to many schools within each of these countries. Their effort would be directed toward searching for the truth with rigid insistence on accuracy, fairness and goodwill, and to reach a conclusion concerning which all could substantially agree. In the course of their treatment of historical material a sincere attempt could be made to counteract popular misconceptions about other nations and to promote world friendship in other ways. If in regard to certain moot questions there were serious differences which could not be dissolved through discussion, a majority vote would decide the issue, but in that case supplementary footnotes giving the other point of view could be added by those in the minority. Such a commission would, in the opinion of a great many, give us an admirable historical work ready for international use. If it seemed desirable and practicable, however, the manuscript could be resubmitted to other specialists for review. In this way, it would be discussed and rediscussed and polished and refined. Once the text-book were finally complete, it could be translated into as many languages as necessary and printed in each country.

The result of this democratic process of expert discussion on the minds of the participating authorities would inevitably broaden their viewpoint and increase their influence in creating international friendship. As to the final complete book and its use, there can be little question of the stimulating effect of such different points of view on the student mind. It would increase intellectual curiosity and promote

tolerance, a *sine qua non* if we are ever to achieve world peace.

The same procedure should be followed in securing books in the other fields mentioned. Later on, texts could similarly be prepared along as many lines as seemed feasible, for example, health, economics, and literature.

In the same way a commission should meet to discuss the problem of training the teachers for the elementary schools. At present, little attention is paid to the best technique for creating the international mind among those who mould and guide the younger generation. A text-book for teachers could well be prepared which would outline for them ways and means of creating and handing on to their pupils a world point of view. After all, there is little hope of transforming wrong national attitudes unless the teachers are first helped to solve this problem for themselves. Much could be done in urging that such a course be established in the normal training schools of every land and in the summer schools which are patronized by the teachers.

At the present time there is almost no need which is greater than for an international guide in the field of ethics and character education, yet each nation still blunders along using material which is built up largely from its own national heritage alone and which may be widely at variance with that of its closest neighbors. This inevitably results in misunderstanding. A text which united the best of the moral teaching and method of all the nations would have a unique appeal and effect. Such a guide, making practical and concrete the "doing unto others what we wish them to do unto us," would unquestionably stimulate the practice of it between nations. If in the attempt to create such a book it should be found that only a small number of



ethical conceptions could now be agreed upon as common, yet the attainment of a broader understanding of each national character and its contribution to justice and goodwill would go far towards creating mutual respect and appreciation.

In the field of literature it would surely be possible to decide on certain of the masterpieces from each country which should be made available for all the others, especially in elementary and secondary schools. Even today the students of America are woefully provincial about the literature from other lands. If this proposal were carried out we should have available for all an immense treasure house of noble and ennobling prose and verse, the heritage of the ages.

It should also be perfectly practicable to prepare a text-book showing the exact nature of war, its causes, consequences and proposed cures, including some of the positive measures of international goodwill which are necessary to prevent it. It is safe to say that if text-books written from the world viewpoint could be secured and adopted by the majority of schools in the various countries, within twenty years such a large measure of mutual understanding and goodwill would be engendered that the danger from war would be quite remote.

Once this program had been inaugurated, it would undoubtedly be possible to enlist the activities of the religious forces within the various nations regardless of their particular faith. Many of them would assist in the circulation of the News Bulletin and also promote the study and reading of the various texts prepared. If their coöperation were properly secured, the material would doubtless go indirectly to tens of thousands through the pulpit and the religious press in every land.

#### THE RESULTS AND THE PRACTICALITY OF THE PROPOSAL

To ensure universal peace, the nations must achieve, in spite of all difficulties and at whatever cost, a genuine interchange of ideas, the utmost possible mutual understanding and appreciation and a community of purpose which will enable them to work harmoniously together. To accomplish this result at least three steps are necessary. First, the peoples of the world must be sufficiently educated to be capable of understanding each other. This means constructive steps looking towards the abolition of illiteracy wherever it exists. Second, a mechanism of international news transference must be established which is accurate, sympathetic and reliable so that the happenings in the life of each nation will be open to all the rest. This would enormously lessen the suspicions and fears which are the seeds of war. Third, a common possession of basic ethical ideals and a large measure of like-mindedness between the peoples of the earth must be created so that they may be willing to establish a new order of international justice, friendship and goodwill. These are precisely the results which would be achieved by the proposals outlined.

They would not only increase the respect of each nation for others, but would go far toward ending superstitions, useless traditions, prejudices, outworn institutions and all the troublesome impediments which block any real advance in civilization. It would lighten the mental load of things that are false. Let us not have mankind ruled by a literature of fear but of hope. Just as the children of certain nations have, in the past, been mentally and spiritually prepared for wars, so we can mentally and spiritually prepare our children for peace.

There would seem to be no insurmountable difficulties in the way of the practical accomplishment of this program. It would enormously facilitate the recommendations adopted by the World Conference on Education in 1923. Some initial expense would be encountered in preparing the various texts, but a great deal of this money would undoubtedly be repaid in royalties from the sales of the books in the various countries. When one recalls the tremendous success of *The Outline of History* by H. G. Wells, it seems probable that such books would not only be purchased for school purposes but would be widely read by the public as well. In fact, the weight of authority behind text-books of this kind would eventually ensure their adoption in nearly every country. After a time there could well be a graded series of such texts beginning in the elementary schools and extending through the university. We must firmly implant the idea of human unity within the child mind of the world by a series of vivid reiterations in every school year so that extreme provincialism can no longer dictate the foreign policies of any nation nor stampede our action in a crisis. Let us make clear to children everywhere that the moral force of right must be substituted for the material force of might even in international affairs. It is almost as difficult for the adult to achieve the truly international mind as for "a camel to pass through the eye of the needle." But in the imagination and growing mind of the child "worlds as yet unrealized" are possible, and the key to making them real must be our teaching.

One great advantage of this program is that it contains but the first steps in what should be an ever-expanding mechanism for coöperation and friendship between the nations. No one can predict the exact steps which it might take. Each year

sees new extensions and new adaptations of the educational technique. A World Conference on Education might ultimately have to deal with the improvement of international communication through the moving picture and the radio, even the teaching of one supplementary language such as Esperanto for all the nations. At present we can be sure, at least, of this,—there must be a colossal extension and redirection of all our moral and intellectual forces towards the achievement of an international mind.

If education means and can mean anything in international life it should be possible for the educational forces to pioneer the way in working harmoniously together in all sorts of ways looking towards educational progress. Here there need be no creeds but truth, and no schisms and sects. Educational progress is the only fundamental road to international peace and coöperation. Once the educators of the world have built a genuine world parliament and made it real, it will not be long before the governments of the world with at least this much of firm footing can also begin to solve their difficulties in conference.

The total result of the steps outlined would be to create a world-mindedness, an appreciation of foreign countries which would make it extremely difficult for propagandists quickly to develop a program of misunderstanding and hate sufficient to involve the world in conflict. Given this initial mechanism, men who are sincere and able in all nations will perfect and expand its functions to correlate the more workaday activities of our everyday world. The limit of its usefulness will only be reached by mankind's capacity for practical idealism itself, and every new interest, interrelation and interdependence will be but another cord to bind the giant of war.

# MONARCHS AND RULERS: A COMPARATIVE STATISTICAL STUDY

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THE purpose of this paper is to bring out some characteristic traits of the social group of monarchs, kings, emperors, and partially of other executives and rulers. Although this group has been studied a great deal during the last few decades, the traits which I wish to analyze have not been investigated thoroughly. This is one reason for this study. The second reason is that the material collected enables us, at least, to verify many statements made by previous investigators. The third reason for this paper lies in its comparative character, which throws a light upon several problems in biology and in the social sciences. This will explain why I shall discuss here many other social groups, and why the study, being in the first place the study of the monarchs, is at the same time and in some respects an investigation of other social groups.

## I. DURATION OF LIFE OF MONARCHS IN COMPARISON WITH THAT OF OTHER GROUPS

### 1. *Principal theories*

In scientific literature there are the following principal theories about the duration of life of monarchs, and their physical and psychical health. In his book<sup>1</sup> Paul Jacoby laid down the theory that the environment and business of monarchs produce, if not in the first, then in the second and next generations, physical, mental and moral degeneration. This is manifest in the forms of sterility, physical defectiveness, insanity, imbecil-

ity, licentiousness,; and the degeneration sometimes manifests itself in a shortened life.

Professor Irving Fisher,<sup>2</sup> having carefully studied the duration of life of the presidents, vice-presidents, senators and congressmen of the United States, came to the conclusion that the actual longevity of these public men, after assuming their public duties, is considerably shorter than that which was to be expected according to the Life Expectation Tables of the American insurance companies. The ratio of the actual to the expected longevity in the case of the presidents is 93 to 100, in the case of the vice-presidents 70 to 100. According to the author, the discrepancy may be explained only through the great responsibility, strenuous life, work in closed, anti-hygenic rooms, and other unfavorable conditions which undermine and shorten the lives of public men.

L. Vacher, after an analysis of the longevity of the several royal and non-royal families, also found that "the longevity of the royal families is an average, sometimes even below that of the non-royal families examined."<sup>3</sup> But, differing with the preceding authors, who ascribed the shorter longevity of the monarchs and public men principally to the influence of their detrimental environment, Vacher is inclined to explain it through heredity.

Although all three authors agree, apparently, in the opinion that duration of

<sup>1</sup> P. Jacoby. *Études sur la sélection chez l'homme*. 2nd ed. Paris, 1904, pp. 30-31, 64-65, 615-618, and passim.

<sup>2</sup> Irving Fisher. "The Mortality of Our Public Men." *Publications of the Amer. Stat. Association*, v. XV, 1916-17, pp. 35-49.

<sup>3</sup> L. Vacher. "La longévité dans les familles." *Bulletin de l'Institut International de Statistique*, t. IX: Deuxieme Livraison, pp. 50-76, Rome, 1896.

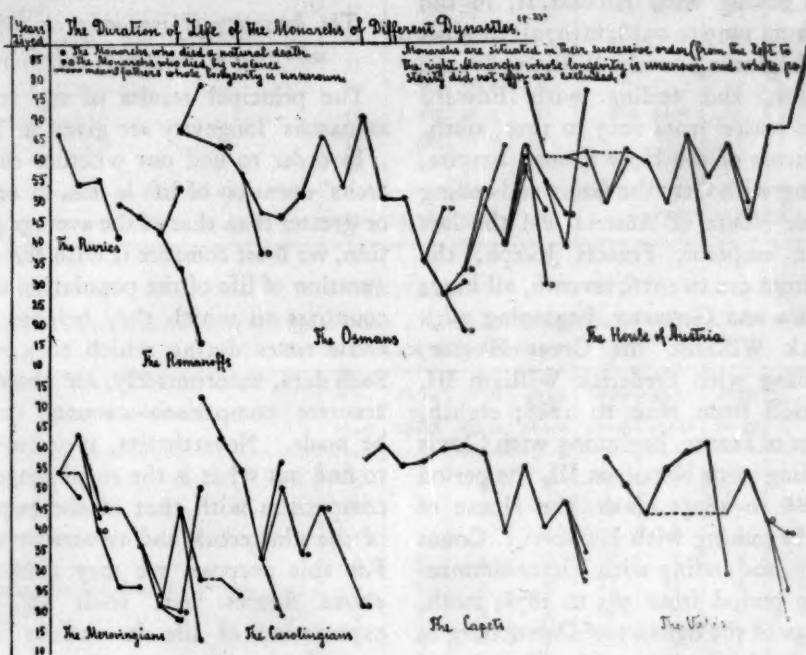


life among monarchs and state executives is somewhat shorter than that of the non-royal families, and that the governing activity and environment tend to shorten the longevity of monarchs and public men, nevertheless, their statements are not quite convincing and may be disputed. In the first place, the facts given by Jacoby are very few and quite incidental. In the second place, Fisher's data concern only the American public men and in this respect are purely local. Besides, however carefully it is done, the comparison

zollern, and Ottomans show rather a higher than an average duration of life for these royal families. Finally, among the royal families he did not exclude the young kings who died at the age of six or eight years, while in the non-royal families, the children who died at an early age are not mentioned at all. Such a comparison is likely to be misleading.

## 2. The groups of monarchs studied

In order to verify the above statements and find out the actual duration of life of



of an actual with an expected duration of life is always somewhat hypothetical. This is especially true when the number of the cases compared is limited, as it is in this case. Vacher's data are also very limited and somewhat incidental. It is scarcely possible to make any valid generalization on the basis of an investigation of a few royal and non-royal families. Besides, his data concerning the dynasties of Hanover, Schleswig-Holstein, Hohen-

the monarchs—but not of the royal offspring generally—I collected data concerning approximately four hundred kings, monarchs, emperors, sultans and czars. In order to have all the principal varieties represented, I intentionally took the data from the Eastern as well as the Western dynasties, from the ancient as well as the comparatively modern kings. In my list are included: first, all Roman emperors, about whom the data are recorded, begin-

ning with Gaius Julius Caesar and ending with Romulus, the last emperor of the Western Roman Empire, covering the period from 100 or 102 B.C. to 475 A.D.; second, all emperors of the Eastern Roman Empire, or Byzantium, beginning with Valentinianus and ending with Alexis Ducas, covering the period from 321 A.D. to 1204 A.D.; third, all Turkish sultans, beginning with Osman or Ottoman I and ending with Abdul-Hamid II, covering the period from 1259 to 1918; fourth, all Russian czars, beginning with Ivan III and ending with Nicolas II, in the period from 1439 to 1918; fifth, all English kings, beginning with William I, the Conqueror, and ending with Edward VII, the period from 1025 to 1910; sixth, all emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, beginning with Otto the Great and ending with the House of Austria and the last Austrian emperor, Francis Joseph, the period from 912 to 1916; seventh, all kings of Prussia and Germany, beginning with Frederick William, the Great Elector, and ending with Frederick William III, the period from 1620 to 1888; eighth, all kings of France, beginning with Clovis and ending with Napoleon III, the period from 466 to 1873; ninth, the House of Savoy, beginning with Humbert I, Count of Savoy, and ending with Victor-Emmanuel, the period from 985 to 1878; tenth, the kings of the dynasty of Oldenbourg in Denmark, beginning with Christian I and ending with Frederick VII, the period from 1426 to 1863; eleventh, the Austrian and Bourbon branches of the Spanish kings, beginning with Charles V and ending with Alphonse XII, the period from 1500 to 1885.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Sources of material: For Rome: *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*, edited by Harry T. Beck, American Book Company; and Duruy V, *History of Rome*, London, 1885, vols. IV-VI. For other countries: *Haydn's Dictionary of Dates*,

All kings about whom the necessary data are lacking or uncertain are excluded from my list. When there was given not only the year of birth and death, but even the month, the longevity was computed in the units of years and months; when only the years were given, it was computed only in units of years. This may make the results slightly inaccurate, but the possible inaccuracy will scarcely be more than one-third of a year for the summarized average results of the longevity.

### 3. *The longevity of monarchs in comparison with that of the general population*

The principal results of my study of monarchs' longevity are given in Table I.

In order to find out whether the monarchs' duration of life is less, or equal to, or greater than that of the average population, we must compare it with the average duration of life of the population of those countries to which they belong, and of those times during which they reigned. Such data, unfortunately, are absent. An accurate comparison cannot, therefore, be made. Nevertheless, it is interesting to find out what is the royal longevity in comparison with that of the population of the nineteenth and twentieth century. For this purpose, we may compare the above figures: first, with an average expectation of life in various Western countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; second, with the distribution of the age groups in the population of European countries and the United States; third, with the distribution of the age groups among all those who died during

by B. Vincent, Putnam's Sons, 1911; *Lippincott's Biographical Dictionary*, 4th edition, vols. I-II; *Dictionary of National Biography*, 66 vols., London, 1885-1901; *La Grande Encyclopédie*, 31 vols., Paris, 1886-1902; *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, publiée par F. Didot-Flerée, Paris, 46 vols.

a certain year in a certain country. Admitting that all these data do not give an adequate basis for the comparison, they may nevertheless very nearly approximate

century is not lower than the average expectation of life in all the given countries, not only at the time of birth, but also at the age of twenty years. Second,

TABLE I

GROUPS OF MONARCHS	MONARCHS WHO DIED NATURAL DEATHS			MONARCHS WHO DIED BY VIOLENCE			BOTH GROUPS COMPARED		
	Total number	Total years lived	Average life span	Total number	Total years lived	Average life span	Total in both groups	Total years lived	Average life span
Turkish sultans.....	24	1,243	51.8	8	320	40.0	32	1,563	48.8
Roman West Empire.....	16	978	61.1	31	1,377	44.4	47	2,355	50.1
Roman East Empire.....	24	1,335	55.6	13	593	45.6	37	1,928	52.1
Russian czars.....	17	832	49.0	5	217	43.4	22	1,049	47.7
Holy Roman Empire, Austria, Prussia.....	47	2,690	57.2	7	288	41.1	54	2,978	55.1
Italy, Savoy.....	35	1,762	50.3				35	1,762	50.3
England.....	29	1,730	59.6	10	377	37.7	39	2,107	54.0
France.....	52	2,412	46.2	11	484	44.0	63	2,896	46.0
Denmark.....	16	985	61.6				16	985	61.6
Spain.....	12	617	51.4				12	617	51.4
Total.....	272	14,584	53.6	85	3,656	43.0	357	18,240	51.1

TABLE II

FREQUENCY OF DISTRIBUTION OF AGES OF RULERS DYING A NATURAL DEATH IS GIVEN IN THE NUMBER OF NATURAL DEATHS IN EACH AGE GROUP

GROUPS OF MONARCHS	0 TO 19 YEARS	20 TO 29 YEARS	30 TO 39 YEARS	40 TO 49 YEARS	50 TO 59 YEARS	60 TO 69 YEARS	70 TO 79 YEARS	80 AND OVER	TOTAL
Turkish sultans.....	0	1	4	3	9	5	2	0	24
Roman West Empire.....	0	0	1	1	5	6	3	0	16
Roman East Empire.....	1	3	1	3	3	8	3	2	24
Russian czars.....	1	0	2	6	6	2	0	0	17
Holy Roman Empire, Austria, Prussia.....	0	2	2	9	14	14	4	2	47
Savoy, Italy.....	4	3	2	4	9	8	5	0	35
England.....	1	0	1	4	8	9	3	3	29
France.....	4	9	4	7	17	8	3	0	52
Denmark.....	0	0	0	2	8	1	4	1	16
Spain.....	1	1	1	3	1	2	3	0	12
Total, number.....	12	19	18	42	80	63	30	8	272
Total, per cent.....	4.4	7.0	6.6	15.4	29.4	23.2	11.0	3.0	100

the actual condition of the longevity of monarchs.

From Table III we see, first, that the duration of life of royalty in the nineteenth

longevity of kings in total is greater than the average expectation of life in all countries at the time of birth, but is somewhat lower than the life expectation in England



and the United States at the age of 20 years, at the end of the nineteenth and in the twentieth centuries. Taking into consideration, however, that the expectation of life in these two countries is practically the highest in the world, and that it has considerably increased during the last century, we have reason to believe

century. These reasons lead to the conclusion that *the kings' duration of life is not likely to be lower than the average longevity of the population of the corresponding countries and times.*

This statement is warranted by comparison of the frequency of the mortality age distribution of the royal group with

TABLE III

THE LONGEVITY OF MONARCHS COMPARED WITH THE EXPECTATION OF LIFE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTRIES AT THE TIME OF BIRTH AND AT THE AGE OF 20 YEARS

THE COMPARED GROUPS	AVERAGE DURATION OF LIFE	COUNTRY AND PERIOD INVOLVED	AVERAGE EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT BIRTH	AVERAGE EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT AGE OF 20 YEARS
	years		years	years
All monarchs who died naturally.....	51.1	England in 1838-54 England in 1912	40.88 53.42	39.40
Monarchs who died naturally at age of 20 and above.....	55.4	Germany in 1871-80 Germany in 1910-20	37.01 49.04	
		France in 1817-31 France in 1898-03	39.55 47.43	
All monarchs who died naturally in nineteenth and twentieth centuries.....	64.0	Italy in 1876-87 Italy in 1910-12	35.55 47.37	
		The United States in 1901 The United States in 1920	49.24 56.32	42.20*
All monarchs who died naturally in nineteenth and twentieth centuries above the age of 20 years.....	64.0			

\* The data concerning the expectation of life are taken from L. Dublin, "The Possibility of Extending Human Life," *Metron*, v. III, no. 2, 1923, pp. 175-97, and from Henry Moir, *Sources and Characteristics of the Principal Mortality Tables*, published by the Actuarial Society of America, 1919, pp. 22, 51.

that the expectation of life in Europe in the past, at the time of birth and at the age of 20 years, was considerably lower than the above figures for England and the United States. Therefore, we may conclude that the average longevity of the monarchs was not lower than the hypothetical expectation of life for the general population of their respective countries, at the age of 20 years, up to the nineteenth

that of the population of the United States in 1920.

Although the mortality of royal children, as it has been shown by F. Savorgnan and G. Sundbaerg,<sup>5</sup> is lower than that

<sup>5</sup> See F. Savorgnan, "Nuzialita e Fecondità delle Case Sovrane d'Europa," *Metron*, vol. III, n. 2, pp. 217. G. Sundbaerg, "Maison Souveraines de l'Europe en 1841-90," *Economisk Tidskrift*, 1909, v. 6, pp. 195-237.

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of the children of any other group, nevertheless we may not compare all royal age-groups with all age-groups of the United States, because only a few of the royal children ascended to the throne in their childhood and died at an early age. The data will be more comparable if we exclude from both groups those who died before reaching the age of 20 years. This is given in the second and fifth columns of Table IV. The figures show that, in comparison with the American group, the kings are dying in a less proportion at the very early and the rather old ages. Nearly seventy-one per cent of the monarchs who reached the age of 20 years died at the age of from 40 to 69, while out of the population of the United States who reached the age of 20 years and died in 1920, only 46 per cent died between 40 and 69 years. While in the royal group only 14.3 per cent died at the age of from 20 to 39, in the American group the corresponding per cent is 22.7. On the other hand, those in the royal group who died at the age of 70 and above compose only 14.6 per cent, while in the American group this per cent is 29.4. If, however, we take only the kings who died in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the ages of their death are decidedly higher than that of the American group. It is clear that just this group of the kings is the most comparable to the American group. In general, this table gives us reason to conclude that the monarchs' longevity is not any less than that of the population of the corresponding country, at a corresponding time.

The same result, only much more conspicuously manifested, we receive through the comparison of the age distribution of monarchs with that of the living population of the United States. Some authors, among them A. Odin,<sup>6</sup> have used this

<sup>6</sup> See A. Odin, *Genèse des Grands Hommes*. Paris, 1895, v. I, pp. 426-28, v. II, tables IV and V.

kind of comparison to find out the comparative duration of life of the prominent men and that of the total population. In this way, Odin compared the longevity of the French literary men who lived and died between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries with the age distribution of the living French population at the age

TABLE IV  
THE MORTALITY AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MONARCHS  
COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE POPULATION  
OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1920

AGE GROUPS	FREQUENCY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF AGES:				
	Group of Monarchs			Those who died in United States in 1920	
	All kings who died naturally at all ages	Kings who died naturally at age of 20 and above	Same for the kings, nineteenth and twentieth century	At all ages	At age of 20 and above
	I	II	III	IV	V
years					
Under 19	4.4			29.9*	
20-29	7.0	7.3	2.9	7.2	10.3
30-39	6.6	7.0	2.9	8.7	12.4
40-49	15.4	16.1	11.8	9.0	12.9
50-59	29.4	30.8	20.6	11.0	15.7
60-69	23.2	24.2	29.4	13.5	19.3
70-79	11.0	11.5	20.6	13.1	18.8
80 and above	3.0	3.1	11.8	7.4	10.6
Totals . . . . .	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

\* 0.2 unknown. Taken from United States Mortality Statistics, 1920, p. 11.

of 25 years and more, as it is given by the Census of 1866. This kind of comparison, however, is much less accurate than the preceding one. While in the case of the deceased kings, or other prominent men, we deal with the longevity expired, in the case of the living population we have a longevity unexpired. Naturally the age of the former groups will be much higher than that of the

latter. This is seen from Table V, in which I take only the ages of twenty years and above in both groups.

The figures show the validity of my remark.

The net result of the above discussion is that, in spite of the inadequacy of the bases of comparison, it seems that *the monarchs' duration of life has been, not less, but rather greater than that of the general population of the corresponding countries at the corresponding time.* At any rate, we do not have any reason to believe that the

TABLE V

AGE GROUPS	FREQUENCY OF DISTRIBUTION OF AGES OF	
	Kings who died at 20 years and above	The living population of United States of 20 years and above, in 1900
All age-groups above 20 years. . . .	100.0	100.0
20-29 years. . . . .	7.3	32.0
30-39 years. . . . .	7.0	25.4
40-49 years. . . . .	16.1	18.8
50-59 years. . . . .	30.8	12.4
60-69 years. . . . .	24.2	7.3
70-79 years. . . . .	11.5	3.2
80 years and more. . . . .	3.1	0.9*

\* Computed from *Supplementary Analysis and Derivative Tables*, Twelfth Census, Washington, 1906, p. 154.

opposite opinion, which states a less than an average longevity for the monarchs, is true.

4. *The influence of environment of monarchs upon their duration of life in comparison with that of non-royal prominent men*

Does this statement mean that the monarchs' environment and business do not shorten their longevity? I think they do, and my reasons are as follows: The monarchs in general belong to the group of the prominent men. We may

argue the concrete figures of F. A. Woods about the number and quality of the geniuses born in the royal families.<sup>7</sup> We may find his data somewhat exaggerated. But we must recognize—the necessary data will be given later—that the monarchs in general represent a group in many respects far above the average population. If this is so, then, to find out whether their environment and business tend to shorten their lives or not, we must compare their duration of life with that of the non-royal prominent men. It is necessary to do this, because the longevity of the prominent men is, it seems, higher than that of the total population. If we find that the royal longevity is below that of the prominent men, this will be the first confirmation of the statement that the monarchs' duration of life is somewhat shortened by their environment. To this evidence I will add several others which corroborate the same statement. Let us now turn to the problem of the longevity of prominent men.

In scientific literature, as well as in popular opinion, there exists the belief that the longevity of the prominent men is below that of the common people. "Many men of genius are dead before they reach the age of forty years," says C. Lombroso.<sup>8</sup> "Unfortunately it is the man higher up who dies. The man lower down does not worry, and he keeps out of the crush. The whole tragedy of modern life is that all the best and greatest citizens are killing themselves before their time."<sup>9</sup> Such is the statement delivered at the Medical Congress in London, June, 1925.

<sup>7</sup> See F. A. Woods, *Mental and Moral Heredity in Royalty*. New York, 1906, pp. 301-2. *The Influence of Monarchs*. New York, 1913, p. 263 and passim.

<sup>8</sup> C. Lombroso. *L'Homme de génie*. Paris, 1889, p. 87.

<sup>9</sup> I quote from the report published in the *Minneapolis Journal*, June 4, 1925.



In spite of its popularity, this opinion is not warranted by the facts. For the sake of the comparison of the royal longevity with that of a prominent non-royal group, I collected the necessary data concerning the longevity of approximately one thousand prominent men. If the monarchs belong to the group of the prominent men; if, besides, we take the non-royal prominent men of different countries and centuries approximately corresponding to those of the monarchs; if the number of the non-royal prominent men is great enough and their selection is made at random; and if their longevity is expired—then it is clear that such a group gives a basis for a comparison much better than that given by the above data concerning the longevity of the total population. In this case the comparison may be quite accurate.

Guided by these considerations, I took Lippincott's *Biographical Dictionary*, and obtained the data about the longevity of the first 150 men listed under the letter "A"; the first 150 under letter "B"; the first 150 under letter "C", and so on. In this way I got the data concerning 1000 men, whose biographies are given in this dictionary. According to the time in which they lived, they belong to the different centuries, beginning with the second century B.C. and ending with the beginning of the twentieth century. The majority lived in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to their country, almost all of them, with a very few exceptions, lived in Europe. From these as well as some other viewpoints, they are quite comparable with the royal group. Further, I divided these prominent men into the groups according to their specialty and computed an average duration of life for each of these groups. Besides this, I obtained data about the

longevity of the presidents of the United States, France and Germany; also, I secured the figures for the popes about whom the data exists in the records of history.<sup>10</sup> Excluding those who were killed or executed or committed suicide, I obtained the results given in Table VI.

The table shows, in the first place, that the indicated opinion about the short duration of life of prominent men is far from being true. *The data concerning 3213 prominent men show that their average life was from sixty-five to seventy years—a longevity surely higher than that of the general population, not only of the past, but of the present also.* To this it is necessary to add that while the average longevity of the group taken from Lippincott's, and who died before the nineteenth century, was 65.2 years, the average longevity of those of this group who died in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, was 66.7 years. These results corroborate the opinion that there is a close correlation between long duration of life and the chances to become a prominent man.<sup>11</sup> This is confirmed also by the fact that *among the monarchs, those who, according to the historians, were the great or above the average, had, with the exception of the English kings, a longer life than that of the average monarch of the same country.* This is seen from the following figures: In France the

<sup>10</sup> The data about the Popes I obtained from the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, Appleton Co., 15 vols.; and from *The Dictionary of Christian Biographies*, Smith and Wace, 4 vols., London, 1884; and from *Haydn's Dictionary of Dates*, 1911. The data concerning the Presidents of the United States were collected from the sources indicated further, the data about the French and German Presidents are taken from *Statesman's Year Book*, and the sources mentioned above.

<sup>11</sup> See some considerations in the paper of R. M. Binder, "Health and Eugenics," in *Eugenics and Race*, the volume in which were published the papers read at the second International Congress of Eugenics, in 1921, Baltimore, 1921, pp. 292-5.

average longevity of 52 non-killed kings is 46.2 years; the average longevity of 10 great kings<sup>12</sup> (Clovis, Clothaire, Charles the Great, Louis VI, Philip II, August, Louis IX, Charles V, Louis XI, Louis XIV, Napoleon I) is 59.3 years. In Turkey the average longevity of all non-killed Sultans is 51.8 years, that of the great and prominent Sultans (Osman I, Orkhan, Amurath I, Bajazet I, Mahomet I, Amurath II, Mahomet II, the Great,

the Great, Catherine II) is 60.3 years. In Spain the corresponding data for all non-killed kings is 51.4 years; for the prominent kings (Charles V, Philip II, Charles III) 67.0 years.

In the Roman Empire the corresponding figures are 61.1 and 66.4 years. (The list of prominent emperors includes: Augustus, Tiberius, Vespasian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antonius, Marcus Aurelius, Sept. Severus, Claudius, Diocletian, Constan-

TABLE VI  
AVERAGE DURATION OF LIFE OF THE DIFFERENT GROUPS OF PROMINENT MEN

GROUPS	NUMBER OF PERSONS	TOTAL YEARS LIVED	AVERAGE LIFE SPAN
I. Monarchs studied.....	272	14,584	53.6
II. Lippincott's groups of: kings.....	60	3,290	54.8
Jurists, judges, lawyers.....	49	3,376	68.9
Statesmen, politicians.....	81	5,411	67.4
Army, navy, military men.....	75	5,031	67.1
Theologians, clericals.....	131	9,006	68.7
Artists, musicians.....			
Architects, painters.....	180	11,515	64.0
Scholars, scientists.....	290	19,507	67.3
Authors, poets, journalists.....	147	9,465	64.4
Total for Lippincott's groups.....	1,013	66,601	65.7
III. Roman Catholic popes.....	85	5,919 or 5,936	69.6 or 69.8
IV. American millionaires.....	278	19,235	69.2*
V. French literary men.....	854		67.3†
VI. Presidents of United States.....	24‡	1,610	70.0 or 69.9
VII. Presidents of Germany and France.....	6	408	68.8

\* P. Sorokin. "American Millionaires." *JOURNAL OF SOCIAL FORCES*, May, 1925.

† A. Odin. *Genese des Grands Hommes*. Lausanne, 1895, v. II, tables V and VI.

‡ Excepting Taft, Coolidge, Lincoln, Garfield, McKinley.

Bajazet II, Solyman the Magnificent) is 60.3 years. In Russia the longevity of all non-killed czars is 49.1, that of the prominent czars (Ivan III, Ivan IV, Peter

tine the Great.) For the Eastern Roman Empire, the data are 55.6 and 68.1 years, the list of prominent monarchs including: Theodosius the Great, Justin I, Justinianus the Great, Basil the Macedonian, Basil II, Constantine Ducas, Alexis Comnenus.

For Denmark the figures are: 61.6 and 67.7 years, the list of the prominent kings including: Christian II, Christian III, Christian IV, Frederick IV.

For the Holy Roman Empire, Austria

<sup>12</sup> For the sake of objectivity I give the names of the kings who are taken as the great and prominent kings in the text. These names are such that there scarcely may be any doubt concerning the objectivity of my selection. For the countries which were studied by F. A. Woods my list of the prominent kings is almost identical with his list of the prominent monarchs. See F. A. Woods, *The Influence of Monarchs*, New York, 1913, pp. 305-403.

and Prussia the corresponding data are: 57.2 and 61.6 years, taking as the prominent kings: Otto I, Henry III, Lothaire, the Saxon, Frederick I Barbarossa (killed), Frederick II, Rudolph I of Hapsburg, Albert the Great, Maximilian I, Frederick III, Charles V, Ferdinand I, Maximilian II, Ferdinand II, Maria Theresia, Leopold II, Frederick-William the Great Elector, Frederick II the Great, William I.

For England the corresponding figures are: 59.6 and 59.1, the group of prominent kings including: William the Conqueror, Henry II, Edward I, Edward III, Henry V, Edward IV, Henry VII, Henry VIII, Elizabeth, O. Cromwell, William III, Victoria. In short, *the average duration*

purely artificial "statistical" conditions. In the group of monarchs there are many persons who, because of hereditary succession, became kings in their childhood and died at an early age. Since they were kings they must be included in the list of kings. But in the non-royal groups of prominent men, there are only a very few persons at an age below thirty. Since prominence is not given to them automatically, in the way of social inheritance, as is the case with kings, and they had to achieve it personally, it is natural that such achievements could be accomplished only after many years of work, and could be obtained no earlier than thirty or forty years of age. All potential

TABLE VII  
FREQUENCY OF AGE-DISTRIBUTION OF THE ROYAL AND NON-ROYAL GROUPS

GROUPS	ALL AGES	UNDER 19 YEARS	20 TO 29 YEARS	30 TO 39 YEARS	40 TO 49 YEARS	50 TO 59 YEARS	60 TO 69 YEARS	70 TO 79 YEARS	80 YEARS AND ABOVE
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
Kings.....	100.0	4.4	7.0	6.6	15.4	29.4	23.5	10.7	3.0
Non-royal prominent men.....	100.0	0	1.5	3.5	9.4	16.0	26.2	25.5	17.9

of life of 78 prominent non-killed monarchs is 62.3 years, while that of all non-killed kings is only 53.6 years.

Let us now turn to Table VI. First of all, let us notice that the longevity of the group of the monarchs studied is very near to that of the monarchs taken in the random selection from the *Lippincott Dictionary*. This again indicates that the data of the group studied are representative. In the second place, we see that the average duration of the monarchs' life is far below that of the non-royal prominent men. The difference is fluctuating from 13 to 16 years. Even the longevity of the great and prominent monarchs is below that of the non-royal prominent men, the relation being 62.3 to 65.2 years. The difference is due, in the first place, to

geniuses who died at a very early age did not have time to realize their potential talents; and, on this account, they could not enter the annals of history, and subsequently the dictionaries and statistical computations. It is natural, therefore, that the non-royal groups give a higher duration of life than that of the kings. This consideration is shown clearly by table VII.

We see that there is no one, among the non-royal men, under the age of 20 years and only 5 per cent of the total between the ages of 20 and 40, while in the royal group there is 4.4 per cent under the age of 20—among them many under the age of 10 years—and 13.6 per cent between the ages of 20 to 40. Such an inequality of age conditions due to the difference of



"socially inherited" and personally achieved position does not, however, permit us to derive any conclusion about the comparative longevity of both groups. Such a comparison may be more valid if we exclude from both groups the age-groups under 30 or even 40 years. It seems that the greater part of the "non-hereditary" prominent men achieved their distinction between 30 and 40 years of age. If such is the case, it means that in the non-royal groups practically only those entered who reached the age of at least 20 years. In order to make the conditions of the comparison more equal,

TABLE VIII  
DURATION OF LIFE OF THE MONARCHS AND THE  
NON-ROYAL PROMINENT MEN

EXCLUDING THE AGE-GROUPS	DURATION OF LIFE OF KINGS	DURATION OF LIFE OF THE NON- ROYAL PROMINENT MEN
	years	years
Under 20 years.....	55.4	65.7
Under 30 years.....	57.8	66.4
Under 40 years.....	59.5	67.5
Under 50 years.....	62.7	69.7

we have to exclude the ages under 20 or 30, or even 40 years from both groups. Then the data will be rather comparable, and may yield more accurate results. These results are given in table VIII.

Having excluded from both groups those who died at the ages under 20, 30, 40 and even 50 years, we obtain the same result; the monarchs' longevity still remains below that of the non-royal prominent men.

If, further, we take the average longevity of the monarchs who died in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (among whom there was only one who died at the age of 28 years—all others died above 30 and 40 years) and the

corresponding group of the non-royal prominent men, we have the following figures for their longevity: 64.0 years for the monarchs, 66.7 years for the other group. It seems safe to conclude from these data that *the duration of life of monarchs is below that of the non-royal prominent men*. This fact cannot be explained even by admitting that the latter group of prominent men will necessarily show a higher longevity than ordinary men, because the kings in total could not be estimated as the average men, and because, first, monarchs as a group cannot be considered as ordinary men, and, second, even the great kings, as we saw, have a duration of life below that of the non-royal prominent men. Therefore, this lower royal longevity may be explained only through either the hereditary shorter duration of life of the royal families, or through a detrimental influence of the monarchs' occupation and environment which shortens their duration of life. There is scarcely any doubt that heredity plays an important part in this respect. Some royal families, e.g., the Hanover dynasty, the Hohenzollerns, or the first four Turkish sultans, show a duration of life either extremely high or above the average. Other royal families, e.g., the dynasties of the Romanoffs, the house of Savoy, that of Franconia, or the Merovingians, are shortlived.

Nevertheless, the fact that the difference in duration of life of both groups is so considerable, and that in spite of the existence of the dynasties with high duration of life the total average longevity of the royal group is still far below that of all other groups of prominent men, obliges us also to recognize a detrimental influence of the kings' environment and occupation. This may be explained, perhaps, by the fact that the king's life and occupation, in the past as

well as in the present, is a very turbulent and strenuous one. It is full of excitement, nervous tension and danger; it is overburdened with the greatest responsibility; it demands, and especially demanded in the past, the greatest exertion of energy and long-continued physical as well as mental effort. All this, together with many luxurious, but at the same time very unhealthful conditions, and often licentiousness, overeating and so on, make very probable the supposition that royal environment and occupation shorten life. In the second place, this hypothesis is confirmed by the study of Professor Fisher, mentioned above, of the duration of life of the American presidents, vice-presidents, and other public men in the United States. In the third place, it is confirmed, to some extent, by the fact that objectively it is the most dangerous occupation known, and one which has, as we will see further, the highest per cent of deaths by violence. In the fourth place, with the exception of the Hohenzollerns the average duration of life of the later generations of monarchs of the same dynasty is considerably less than that of the first generation. This is seen from the following figures. The diagram added gives some idea of the progressive shortening of the lives of the kings of the French and some other dynasties (those who died by violence, if not mentioned, are excluded).

*Generations and dynasties*

*Average duration of life years*

*France:*

The Merovingians:

First seven kings (From Clovis to Dagobert I)..... 45.1

Last seven kings (From Clovis II to Chilperic II)..... 24.9

The Carolingians:

First three kings (Charles the Great, Louis the Debonair, Charles the Bald)..... 55.7\*

Last three kings (Louis II the Stammerer, Charles III the Gross, Charles the Simple)..... 41.7

The Capetings:

First seven kings (From Hugh Capet to Philip Augustus)..... 57.7

Last seven kings (From Louis VIII to Charles IV)..... 38.6

The Valois:

First five kings (From Philip VI to Charles VII)..... 52.4

Last five kings (From Louis XI to Charles IX)..... 36.4

\* Others were killed or the data are absent.

The same cannot be done with the Bourbons because Henry IV and Louis XVI were killed, and, besides them, we have only three Bourbons before the French Revolution.

*Generations and dynasties*

*Average duration of life years*

*Turkey:*

First twelve sultans (From Osman I to Mahomet III inclusive)..... 55.7

Last twelve sultans (From Amurath IV to Abdul-Hamid II)..... 53.2

*Denmark:*

Dynasty of Oldenburg:

First eight generations (Beginning with Christian and ending with Frederick III)..... 67.0

Last eight generations (Beginning with Christian and ending with Frederick VII)..... 56.1

*Russia:*

Ruricks:

Ivan III and Basil V..... 60.0

Ivan the Terrible and Fedor Ioannovich..... 48.0

The Romanoffs:

Michael Fedorovich and Alexis

Michailovich..... 47.5

Peter the Great and Peter the Second.. 34.0

The dynasty of Coburg-Holstein cannot be computed because Peter III, Ivan VI, Paul I, Alexander II, Nicolas II were assassinated, and the other three czars were women. Excluding these, we have only three czars of this dynasty who died

a natural death. This number is too small to warrant any computation.

*Generations and dynasties*

*Average duration  
of life  
years*

*Holy Roman Empire:*

*The Saxon Dynasty:*

First two kings (Henry I the Fowler,  
Otho I)..... 60.5  
Last two kings (Otho III, Henry II).. 37.0

*House of Hohenstaufen:*

First three kings (Conrad III, Frederick  
I, the Barbarossa (killed), Henry VI  
(perhaps poisoned)..... 63.3  
Last three kings (Otho IV, Frederick  
II, Conrad IV)..... 42.2

Further, there are emperors of different dynasties, for which computation is impossible.

*Generations and dynasties*

*Average duration  
of life  
years*

*House of Austria:*

First eight emperors (Beginning with  
Frederick III or IV, the Pacific, and  
ending with Ferdinand II)..... 60.8  
Last eight kings (Beginning with  
Leopold I and ending with Francis  
Joseph)..... 58.1

*England:*

*Normans and Plantagenets:*

First four generations (William the  
Conqueror to Henry II)..... 58.5  
Last four generations (Henry III to  
Richard II)..... 58.2

The Houses of Lancaster and York had only a few generations, and too many kings were killed to make the computation possible. The same has to be said about the Stuarts, and even Tudors, because, out of five kings of this house, excluding Jane Grey, the last two were women. Their longevity (56.0 years), slightly greater than that of Henry VII and Henry VIII (54.5 years), may be due to the generally greater duration of life of women than of men.

*Generations and dynasties*

*Average duration  
of life  
years*

*House of Hanover:*

First three kings (George I, II, III)... 75.3  
Last three kings (William IV, Victoria,  
Edward VII)..... 74.3

*Prussia, Germany:*

*The Hohenzollerns:*

First four kings (Beginning with Frederick William the Great Elector and ending with Frederick the Great).. 62.5  
Last four kings (From Frederick William III to Frederick William the Noble)..... 71.2

For ancient Rome, the Western and Eastern Roman Empires, the computation is impossible because few dynasties had even three or four generations; the greater part had only one; even when there were three or four generations, one or more kings were killed. Excluding the house of Hohenzollern, we see that the posterior generations of the kings had in total a shorter duration of life than the preceding ones. This, together with other facts, tends to prove that the monarchs' duration of life is somewhat shortened by their occupation and environment. Finally, the same conclusion is suggested by the fact that, on the average, the earlier the age of succession to the throne of the kings of different countries, the shorter is their average duration of life. These data, as well as the correlation between the two series is seen from Table IX.

This is a very high coefficient of correlation. It may be interpreted to mean that the earlier the kings assumed their functions, the earlier the detrimental influence of their occupation upon their duration of life begins, and the earlier it leads to their death.

The above, it seems, may be summed up as follows: *The fact that some dynasties have on the average a comparatively high longevity, while some others have a low longevity, is due to their heredity; through heredity it may be explained also why some of the monarchs have a long duration of life, while some others have a short one.* But the fact that the average duration of monarchs' lives is considerably less than that of the non-royal prominent men; that the life-



duration of the later generations of the kings is on the average shorter than that of the preceding ones; that there is a close *the longevity of the monarchs or of the state executives.* This is the only possible conclusion to be drawn from the above facts,

TABLE IX  
CORRELATION BETWEEN AGE AT ASCENT TO THRONE AND DURATION OF LIFE

GROUPS OF MONARCHS	DURATION OF LIFE (SERIES 1)	AGE AT ASCENT TO THRONE (SERIES 2)	RANK IN SERIES 1	RANK IN SERIES 2	DIFFERENCE IN RANK D			$\Sigma D^2$
					+	0	-	
Roman Empire.....	61.1	40.7	1	1		0		
English kings.....	59.6	31.1	2	4	2			4
Holy Roman Empire, Austria, Prussia.....	57.2	32.9	3	2			1	1
Eastern Roman Empire.....	55.6	31.6	4	3			1	1
Turkish sultans.....	51.8	30.5	5	5		0		
Russian czars.....	49.0	26.7	6	6		0		
French kings.....	46.2	24.0	7	7		0		
					2		-2	6

$$P = 1 - \frac{6 \Sigma D^2}{N(n^2 - 1)} = 0.893$$

$$r = 0.9015$$

$$R = 1 - \frac{6 \Sigma g}{n^2 - 1} = 0.75$$

$$r = 0.932$$

correlation between the age at which they ascend to the throne and the age at which they die; that the longevity of the American public men is lower than their expected longevity: all these facts may be explained only *through the admission of detrimental influence of the royal environment and occupation which undermine and shorten*

and it is the only one which is in harmony with them.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The fact that the presidents and the popes have a long duration of life does not contradict this conclusion, because they assumed their positions at an advanced age, and only a short time before their deaths.

Professor Sorokin will conclude this statistical study in the next issue of Social Forces.

## THE CONCEPT OF PROGRESS: III. THE SCIENTIFIC PHASE

L. L. BERNARD

SCIENCE begins when man learns to measure his world or any part of it by definite objective standards. Theological and metaphysical explanations are the earlier and less critical analogues of the scientific explanations of phenomena. Science views processes from within; it studies relationships among the things themselves. Theology and metaphysics look upon concrete phenomena as extensions or consequences of a personality or of a principle which dwells or obtains outside of the phenomena themselves. Relationships among phenomena are viewed merely as secondary relationships derived from and dependent upon the primary relationships between the phenomena and the external causative personality or principle. Metaphysics and theology do not recognize primary relationships among mere phenomena, that is, the concrete perceptual objects of every day occurrence. Science grew up as an attempt to explain what appeared to be merely secondary and relatively inconsequential—to measure these interrelationships of things. Primitive man was under the spell of the power of nature; it overwhelmed, oppressed, frightened, or inspired him. It was for him a mystical thing which he felt in the large, but which he did not comprehend in the concreteness of detail. He made his peace with the unseen powers of nature through attempts at propitiation, bargaining, mastering, intimidation, supplication, service—all of which were the methods used by one personality towards another. This was magic. But in it lay the seeds of scientific control. Magic could not give way to science until analysis of the relations of objects had reduced the personality con-

cept of the world in some measure to a mechanistic or quantitative and intellectual, instead of a qualitative and affective, conception of relationships. Magic was based primarily upon a personality conception of the world. Science, or intellectual analysis and quantitative measurement of phenomena, is based primarily upon a mechanistic view of the world and its phenomenal relationships.

Thus the growth of science is synonymous with the abstraction of a world of things away from a world of attitudes, or of personalities, of spirits and of powers. This abstraction and isolation of impersonal data away from personality attitudes naturally first came in the world of physics or relatively inert masses. We are just now learning to abstract complex human personalities into quantitative and intellectualized explanations, or to proceed from the qualitative personality to the quantitative mechanistic explanations of human organisms. This same kind of substitution was made rather impersonally for animal organisms below man at a somewhat earlier date, and physiology became a definite biochemical and biophysical science. A quantitative science of human psychology is just being established as behaviorism and sociology is now beginning to emerge from the limbo of affective attitudes and emotional values into the measurement of causes and consequences, or of quantitative correlations.

The Greek philosophers of Asia Minor, and later those of Athens and of Magna Graecia, began the process of mechanistic abstraction in announcing quantitative causal relationships among the phenomena of every day life and in the fields of the organization of matter and of astronomy

or the organization of the heavenly bodies. Beginning with the theory of the four elements—earth, air, fire, and water—and proceeding to the hypothesis of the atoms, they opened up a process of analysis, which was vastly aided by the development of mathematics as applied to physical and chemical measurements. Mathematical measurement of the relationship of phenomena was early developed in the everyday affairs of life, especially with reference to distances, mechanical processes, values in the market, architecture, land measurement, time keeping, both diurnal and annular, transportation, and the like. The quantitative or scientific study of the relationships of cosmic movements (or of the heavenly bodies, to perpetuate a term which comes down from the theological system of personality explanation) was also introduced, but this line of development of science had to wait for definite and striking results until the telescope and the calculus appeared as instruments for the observation and quantitative measurement of these less concretely perceptual relationships. With the aid of these methods and instruments Galileo, Kepler, Copernicus, and Tycho Brahe initiated what was essentially a new science and destroyed forever the theological and metaphysical obscurantism hovering around the dogmas of heavenly spirits or angels<sup>1</sup> and natural law, which had persisted as astrology. Today astrology exists only for those persons who have the same lack of scientific outlook and who think mainly in the personality or absolutistic metaphysical categories which limited the peoples of early times. Mete-

orology, likewise, has only recently emerged as a quantitative or mechanistic science out of the old theological and metaphysical or natural essence explanations of the weather. Seismic disturbances have also only but lately been reduced from a theological to a mechanistic explanation. John Wesley himself delivered a sermon on the cause (wrath of God) and cure (man's repentance) of earthquakes.

Newton and the brilliant line of physicists and chemists who followed him in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries carried on to a measurable degree of success the early attempts of the Greek physical philosophers to secure an analytic and quantitative or intellectual explanation of matter and motion and energy. In biology the battle for the interpretation of life and growth in mechanistic instead of in vitalistic terms is still being fought out, but there can be no question as to the final result. Metaphysics (vitalism) gives way before biological science or the interpretation of life in terms of biophysics and biochemistry, just as at an earlier date the theory of the direction of the animal organisms by resident spirits or detachable personalities gave place in the minds of all but the ignorant and the superstitious to the concept of dominance and direction by a vital force or life principle. A similar development of a mechanistic or non-personality explanation of mental and social behavior is now in process and will unquestionably be achieved as rapidly as we devise methods of measuring individual and social adjustments to environmental pressures.

In this way the scientific explanation of phenomena has largely taken possession of our modern world and the personality and metaphysical or essence explanation of phenomena is increasingly passing into the discard. It is only in the very com-

<sup>1</sup> The mediaeval theological writers speak of the relation of angels and other heavenly beings to the ordering and organization of the universe. See, for example, Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*.



plex and seldom recurring, and therefore difficult to measure, human relationships that the change of analysis or explanation has not taken place completely. Man is increasingly turning to a study of the causes of events within the relationships of phenomena instead of seeking them in some external will or universal principles. The method of science is just the reverse of that of metaphysics and theology. The latter conceive of the directive power and organization as outside of and beyond the limits of the phenomena themselves, and therefore as imposed upon the visible world as we behold it; while science sees the world of phenomena as the product and functioning of the interrelationships of the phenomena themselves. To science there are no mystical causes. All causes are known and measurable or they are conceived as capable of analysis and measurement.

Man begins to realize, with the aid of the scientific viewpoint, that he had himself read the personality and essence or metaphysical directing forces into the cosmos. It was he who created the guiding personalities or powers and the general principles or natural laws as unconsciously consummated devices to get order into his world for the sake of the control of action and of personal and social adjustment they would give. Inclusive and continuous programs of action, elaborate systems of control, philosophies of life and social organizations, cannot be built up except by men who have either a conscious or unconscious philosophy of natural order and system. There must be some general principles of the organization of nature to serve as a background for the human purposive organization of society.

It does not matter how this theory of natural organization comes into existence—whether through the slow accretions of

the folk thinking or through the more purposive mental labors of scientists. If man is to live in his world on more than a hand-to-mouth basis of understanding, it must exist. So true is this assertion that we may always discover a close correlation between the extent and kind of the philosophy of natural order or organization and the theory and practice of the social order or organization.

Each age has built its theory of natural or universal order out of the materials which it had at its disposal. At the period of development when personality was the only causative concept grasped there grew up a theological theory of explanation. The metaphysical explanation came in the process of the transition from the fiatism of a supernatural personality over to the regularism and constancy of quantitative mechanistic relationships, in which the general personal power was depersonalized into the essence of universal relationships or laws which extended into individual concrete phenomena. The scientific explanation is the later product of an age of exact quantitative, mechanistic measurement of relationships made possible by the elaborate artificial mechanical extension of man's senses on the one hand and the elaborate extension of his generalizing or conceptualizing processes by means of mathematics and the logic of classification and analysis on the other hand. Although the scientific method of creating a projected natural order began with the apparently minor relationships among immediate physical phenomena, it has spread beyond these beginnings until latterly it has come to replace in large measure the personality and natural law explanations of cosmic order and control. It derives the preference accorded it from its superiority as a method of interpreting phenomena and relationships of the highest and of the lowest orders of generality.

Although man created the earlier personality and natural law theories of cosmic and natural order which he conceived as extending into and as directing mundane affairs, to aid him in securing a better adjustment to his world, these mythic creatures and phantasmic projections of his came in time, Frankenstein like, to dominate and limit his outlook upon things. Being outside of man and his relationships, imposing their will and force or law upon him, they were necessarily unresponsive to his changing thinking and needs. They became absolutes which he scarcely could change.

They became fixed in custom and tradition, that is, in the theological and the metaphysical interpretations of things. His practical technique of adjustment developed, but his philosophy of life and nature tended to remain static. Consequently his explanatory theories came to limit and oppress him, even to terrify him, instead of to guide and aid him in a constructive and progressive adjustment to his world. Man advanced in the realm of action, of technique, and of needs, beyond his philosophies. To escape their limitations, he created new philosophies, sometimes by fiction,<sup>2</sup> sometimes by design. Sometimes he went down to defeat still loyal to the intellectual chains which he had forged for himself, while some people or culture with a more adaptable interpretative philosophy took up the advancing process of social adjustment. Thus there have been produced theologies and mythologies, theories of magic and of metaphysics, in very great profusion, one disappearing after another or being merged with its successor.

<sup>2</sup> See the author's "Objective Viewpoint in Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1919, for a theory of subconscious induction based on the fiction of a divine revelation in the past or present.

The metaphysical theory of natural law itself may be regarded as a depersonalized theology which, especially among the Greek philosophers and the philosophic theologians of the middle ages, made the transition from personality to mechanistic explanation of phenomena. And science in its turn is in the nature of a revision of the old metaphysics in which the qualitative essence principle is transformed into the quantitative mechanistic logic of analyzed quantitative relationships. Under scientific method conclusions regarding relationships are arrived at through inductive and quantitative generalization in verification of hypotheses, while metaphysics stops with the hypothesis which it arrives at by the method of analogy and deduction and explains its findings in terms of natural law or inner essence as final causes. The concept of the inner essence, however, affords a connecting bridge over to the scientific concept of quantitative relationship. It is the nexus by which the external directing agency is reduced to qualities within. And on the basis of these qualities the next step in explanatory thinking or analysis is taken. This is the comparison of phenomena or measurable objects themselves, a procedure which leads to scientific method.

Modern science was at first metaphysically interpreted. Its method of investigation was conceived of as merely the uncovering of a metaphysical essence or principle of natural law. Roger Bacon evidently had this conception of science when he said that experiment, as the most concrete form of experience, was secondary to intuition as a means of discovering truth. This intuition of Roger Bacon was essentially the same as the "reason" of Socrates and of St. Thomas Aquinas. For all of these, and all of the other philosophers prior to the most recent age of

scientific method, the truth, the fact, the principle, had its real existence in the natural order of things, just as the theologically minded thinkers had conceived of it as existent in the mind of a god. Reason itself was conceived as a metaphysical entity, not as a process of analysis, as among us, whose sole function was to unwrap this truth, self-existent in nature, and bring it to the light of human perception and understanding.

This is the essence of the metaphysical epistemology, of the Platonic theory of the primacy of the idea and of the concept of natural, as contrasted with the concept of scientific, law, which regards all principles, theories, laws, hypotheses, as tentative and more or less temporary generalizations or projections of the human mind. To the scientist, generalization is not (unless he be also a metaphysician) an uncovering of natural essence or law, but the statement of uniformities of occurrence of phenomena from the viewpoint of one or more individuals living in a world of phenomena which are perceived and viewed into relationship. To him laws, principles, formulas, facts, are the perspective he has attained in looking at as many facts as come within his range of conceptual vision. They are the categories by means of which he looks his world of symbols or of concepts into shape, and are by no means considered as final or absolute. The metaphysician imputes the order or uniformity to "nature" as a whole, he even creates subconsciously this "nature" as the total organization of all the concepts and principles, assumptions and hypotheses, which he has learned to perceive. But the scientist does not, as a scientist, have the illusion that the reality exists in a cosmic and fixed order of essence or law beyond the world of experience. He does not disbelieve in an objective world, but he

knows that its meaning is constantly being created and recreated for him and his fellow workers by new interpretations or generalized viewpoints, which inevitably arise with the inclusion of more data within his perspective.

Only gradually have we come to see that there are no fixed entities or absolutes back of our generalized viewpoints and that the cosmos, nature, even our own narrower social world, are only ways of looking at things in orderly fashion from a human—though objectified—viewpoint.<sup>3</sup> These viewpoints change as the universe and as society change with reference to us and as we change with reference to them. There are as many laws and principles as there are viewpoints. Every perception and every concept of an individual is a principle, but it has social or collective validity, that is, intelligibility and directive or constructively synthetizing power over action and logic, only in so far as it can be made the generalization or the viewpoint of all the people concerned when functioning together. There is nothing absolute or final about it, but the more people it represents as a generalized viewpoint,

<sup>3</sup> If there is a more inclusive "viewpoint" or one of a different order, it is either unattainable by man, or it must be reached by him through the cumulative inductive generalizations or induced perspective arising from the application of scientific method. Even on the assumption that man is gradually building up an understanding of a universal or a super-universal natural law or theology, there is no justification, so far as our knowledge goes, for a belief that such a divine or natural superorder is fixed or absolute. All theological interpretations look upon the divine mind as being in constant flux or progressively creative. Likewise universal natural law must be conceived in much the same way to escape the concept of a static universe or constellation of universes. Hence, on no ground can we conceive of the scientific laws generalized by man as fixed or final and absolute. The very essence of scientific method is orderly relativity.

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and the more inclusive the phenomena which are generalized in this collective viewpoint, the longer will the scientific law or principle stand and the more universally will it be recognized.

The concept of social progress thus comes to be a generalized viewpoint subject to the categories of quantitative measurement of relationships. It is no more a human or anthropocentric concept than is any other principle of science; for all science is human, not natural or divine, except as all things may be considered such. However, a theory of progress may be more subjective than some other scientific generalizations. It is so closely connected with the desires of people. All generalizations are liable to the warping influence of individual bias or preference and can be lifted above this limitation only in a measure by making them collective generalizations. Universality of acceptance or belief is in itself no guarantee of verifiability or objective functionality. The theory of progress, moreover, since a part of the generalization consists in the setting of a goal or objective for the generalizers themselves, cannot easily detach itself from the warping effect of immediate individual desires and their rationalizations in logic. It is only gradually that scientific measurement of relationships in social phenomena becomes able to eliminate the purely personal subjectively induced rationalization in stating a collective goal. The statement of the social objective in progress is an evolution of the substitution of new and ever more highly objectified and inclusive, as well as constantly more rigorously tested generalizations regarding the ultimate consequences of human adjustments, for the older and narrower, more subjective and less inclusive, and less accurately tested, generalizations regarding the ultimate results of human social adjustments.

These detached and impersonal generalizations of ultimate consequences or forms of adjustments, scientifically measured and constructed in a logic abstracted as far as possible from the warping influence of a self-interest bias, are retransformed for purposes of administration or execution into desires through the process of assimilation to a perception of and identification with subjective interest. Individuals are taught to see themselves in perspective with the wider plan of action, that is, to identify their interests with a longer-time and more socialized scheme of coöperative or collective adjustment planned with as much precision as science makes possible. The statement of the goal should be made objectively and wholly in terms of the scientific measurement of consequences of adjustment relationships and later assimilated to subjective evaluational or affective perception of ends or desires only through a process of identification of social and individual interests.

Only in this way can we arrive at a scientific statement of goals in social progress. Even so it must always be a relative and tentative statement, as all scientific generalization is relative. There is nothing absolute and final, except by imputation, in the fields of metaphysics and theology. Curious as is the paradox, science knows that its generalizations are relative, but they are nevertheless more trustworthy than the traditional ones which are considered as absolute by their adherents. All scientific generalizations are in process of evolution, and the statement of objectives in social progress must likewise be in process of evolution and subject to constant reformation as new data relative to the needs and powers or limitations of man are brought into perspective. But such a statement should become increasingly trustworthy and effective for social control as data accumulate

and as they are looked into shape through the medium of scientific generalization or method.

The method of achieving social progress through scientific control of the social adjustment processes is a simpler matter than the scientific statement of objectives in progress. It consists of a relatively concrete statement of the resources available for promoting the ends determined upon and of the limitations in the way of the consummation of the desired ends, and finally, in the manipulation of the available resources for the objectives desired and for the avoidance of the limiting factors. This last process is itself extremely complicated, for it involves the unceasing creation of technique, physical and social and scientific-methodological, for the purpose of bringing resources to bear upon the objectives set. This is all the more difficult because of the relative or evolving and changing nature of the objectives in progress, necessitating a constant revision of technique and a constant readaptation of means to ends. Thus, neither the objectives of social progress, nor the means to the attainment of these ends can be fixed once for all. Both are relative and both are being constantly restated and reorganized.

If the coming of the scientific method of explaining our world has proved somewhat disconcerting in robbing us of the certainty of progress and of the apparent ease of its attainment, because it has made our world relative and shifting instead of permanent and absolute, this scientific method has at least given us one great gift in exchange for all of the uncertainty which it has brought us. The old fixity and certainty were illusions and our magical methods of controlling these illusory worlds were so ineffective that the combined faith and ignorance of the men who trusted to the magical

methods astonish us. But while our disillusionment regarding the fixity of our world is doubtless distressing, we have gained along with it, through science, a mastery over technique which enables us to see and control our adjustment to the shifting scene with much greater effectiveness than ever before. Through even the wobbly movements of relativity we can see a clearer actual pathway of progress than through the old illusory concepts of order and organization. Whatever certainty there may be to social progress for the future<sup>4</sup> it must come in the main from the generalization of collective viewpoints and measurements and the control of social relationships through the relativity concepts of science.

By way of summary it may be said that mankind first began to look beyond the present into a hopeful future by reversing the mirror of a hypothetical past—the golden age—created by their wishes to escape from an unsatisfactory present. Prophets arose to preach the coming order as the dispensation of the friendly gods who would redeem men from evil. The theological concept in time became secularized and advanced toward a social program. In the meantime, the symbolism of thought having changed from the mythological to the concept of essence—the gods depersonalized into *nouns* or natural law—a metaphysical conception of progress arose. But in this also the motivation to progress was conceived as existing outside of the phenomena in which the progress itself was to occur. The way for a scientific conception and formulation of social progress was first foreshadowed by the transference of the concept of the compelling essence from

<sup>4</sup> We must not forget the cosmic and other limitations. See article on "Conditions of Social Progress," by the writer, in *Amer. Journal of Sociology*, July, 1922.

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the outside to the inner nature of the objects or phenomena themselves. This transference shifted the emphasis from that of a search for final causes outside of phenomena to the quest of the derivative causes, that is, to an analysis of the nature of phenomena and a comparison and a correlation of the essential traits of phenomena themselves. This led over from a qualitative to a quantitative study of data. Measurement took the place of subjective attitude or impression. This transition occurred first in the physical sciences, but in the nineteenth century it began to be extended to the social sciences as well. And with the coming of the measurement of values and of technique—of ends and of means—to future or projected relationships as well as to those of the present, the scientific concept of social progress was born.

We have only begun to think in a scientific sense as distinguished from the old theological and metaphysical theological viewpoints. The work of projecting scientific theories of progress is more difficult than that of any other problem in science, because it involves all other science. We cannot hope for any final statement of either ends or means in progress. Each statement must be frankly tentative and subject to constant revision as new data are thought into perspective through the use of scientific methodology. But this is true, in greater or less degree, of all problems in science whatsoever.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> For further material on the subject of these three articles see J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress*; F. S. Marvin, *Progress and History*; A. J. Todd, *Theories of Social Progress*; Bernard, "Conditions of Social Progress," "Invention and Social Progress," etc., as cited in footnotes to these articles.

## SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: II. SOCIAL CORRELATION

ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

THE compartmental division of modern life has brought us to the habit of assuming that the various departments of life can be insulated from one another and run their separate courses by their own momentum. If, however, we can show that the social universe is a real universe and not a series of segregated divisions, if we can show that every phase of associated life is a function of every other, whether these aspects be economic, political, ethical, religious, artistic, scientific, literary, philosophical, or what not—if, in other words, we can make clear that every human interest is a function of the general life of its particular period, and that the whole is in process of flux, we shall be able to bring out the fact that in no field of life is there such a

thing as fixity, permanence, absolutism, finality, eternal validity. We shall see that every human expression undergoes evolution, not independently but in close correlation with every other manifestation of humanity; specifically, that this is true of the realm of thought as embodied in metaphysics, theology, belles lettres, science, and in the realm of aspiration represented by ideals, duties, religious values, just as certainly as it is of the more obviously correlated incidents. We shall find it to be true that "even the wildest dreamers reflect in their dreams the contemporary social state."

Theoretically and in a general way the doctrine of evolution has familiarized us with this concept of the integral unfolding of life, the evolution of every part proceed-



ing in such a way as to maintain the substantial equilibrium of the whole. The developmental hypothesis has undermined the notion of absolutism and has erected in its stead the concept of relativity, which expresses the fact that everything gets its meaning from its relation to everything else, and in particular that values all depend on time and place and circumstance. We are lead to the conclusion that "among social laws, there is not one that acts the same today as yesterday. They are all limited and have value only by virtue of observations made at a given time and place. They do not express necessity but relations of regularity and probability." There is a strong practical sense in which it is true that "whatever a given age or people believes to be true is true for that age and that people." This general point of view receives additional confirmation from the recent discoveries in cosmic relativity.

Under the old order of thought, creation was stereotyped and rigid, everything made distinct, to order and pattern. An absolute code of eternal right was posited based on the immutable nature and character of God. There was conceived to be only one fit and ideal form for family, church, and state, and all variants were regarded as aberrant and pathological. One of the denominations still puts to elders at ordination this query: "Are you persuaded that the Lord Jesus Christ . . . hath instituted one unalterable form of church government . . . and that it is exclusively Presbyterian?" A recent writer on the Sermon on the Mount asserts that its application would destroy the present system of marriage, government, and property. He took the existing order of things as absolute and final—the measure of all things. In like manner the traditional American political idealism regarded its form of government

as the norm for every clime. Thus we were made to live in a cast-iron universe of awesome fixity.

Even yet this concept has not altogether lost its hold on the minds of scholarly thinkers. Thus a current treatise asserts that "the principles of association which sociology and economics study rest on facts of human nature, and these are so constant that certain rules of conduct are valid for all times, however variable their form and economic expression." Thus the concept of relativity is only partially developed even within the field of social science. The traditional economics is widely presented as if it possessed universal and unchanging validity, whereas it is clearly a specific product of peculiar economic conditions, and contains not a single principle that holds alike good under any and all circumstances of time and place. Conditions are now so changed and so changing that the old economics is little better than a superstition. No matter how emphatically the economic theorist would assert his belief in the relativity of economic doctrine, nevertheless his printed and spoken word bears witness that he has not assimilated the idea.

Since things are so in the realms of social science, it is too much to expect that popular thought should have adjusted itself to the deeper knowledge. People still seem to assume, for instance, that great thinkers have created ideas out of nothing, or at least that the current of thought is sufficient to itself and runs its course almost irrespective of environmental influence. People still talk as if there were absolute canons of art and literature, so that certain writers are to be considered pre-eminent for all time, irrespective of material and social changes in environment and life—a state of mind fortunately breaking down among experts

in literary criticism. Reform projects affecting church or state or what not are of course still solemnly contrived and essayed without perspective and with full faith in immutable right.

Now there is, abstractly and theoretically, a certain substratum of fixity in the stream of human life, but the newer thought gives greater weight to the qualities of plasticity and relativity. Every phenomenon is supposed to be appraised by reference to its environing circumstances; human nature is found to be extremely elastic and flexible; nothing is independent or absolute. This idea of relativity is one of the essential elements of a liberal education and one of the hardest to instill. There is a well-nigh universal disposition, even among the young, to take everything for granted, with the result that every generation manifests unwarranted cocksureness and conceit and seriously employs arguments that to later generations seem ludicrous. There is an infinitude of work waiting to be done in the field of social relativity. Some one must write a social interpretation of the history of philosophy, showing how thought follows circumstance and becomes dominant only as it fits circumstances. The same thing must be done for the history of economic thought, of theological speculation, of educational theory and practice. There must be a like presentation of the history of letters, science, art, reaction, and every other human interest, showing that all their types, canons, spirit, tendencies, and technique reflect the general social environment. In short, the study of social evolution must become scientific, approaching as nearly as possible such integration that a real sociologist could reconstruct the civilization of an epoch from one or two fragments from whatever field of life.

It is not possible at this point to present an exhaustive exposition of the concept of social relativity; suffice it to say that once we have really grasped in all its ramifications the notion that everything is a function of everything else, we are in a position to essay an interpretation of society vastly more constructive than can be thought of by the compartmentalist or the absolutist. We may hope presently to come to see the realm of social life as a real universe, every part of which would be fully understood if we understood fully any one part. The economic interpretation of history is the first step toward such an achievement. Its implication is that social correlation is not fortuitous, or free, or optional, but is conditioned in some wise by the material limitations of the environment. It is for us to indicate its pervasive significance and suggest in a preliminary way the ambitious scheme of sociology that will one day rise on its foundation. That the economic interpretation is the basis of social correlation will be implicit throughout the succeeding discussion, though not at every point explicit, inasmuch as it is of advantage to indicate in a general way the interrelation of the diverse elements of the social superstructure, a task which does not make necessary a continual repetition of the fundamental principle out of which the whole may be supposed to rise. If, however, the scheme of interrelation can be made sufficiently obvious, it will be easier to understand that the so-called "higher" elements are really related to the material circumstances of livelihood.

The first step toward such a comprehension lies in the knowledge that the essence of life is a tendency to respond to stimuli. The original reaction of animal life was expenditure of energy in motility. From such simple origins have arisen the whole

range of institutions to which we give the name "civilization." It is not necessary for us to answer the ultimate question as to whether the essence of life transcends mere chemical reaction, but our study will be illuminated if we keep in mind the extreme elementariness of the initial phenomena of life and the ease with which they can be thought in terms of chemistry. It is very likely possible to think to the summit of spiritual achievement without introducing other terms. No interest is in any sense divorced from mundane sources. Every interest, however, ideal, has at least a parallelism with bodily states. Loeb has explained war fever by his chemical hypothesis and it is not inconceivable that the "reckless" sacrifice of life for an ideal may be correlated with chemical reactions aroused by certain situations. Loeb's mechanistic hypothesis may turn out ultimately to be the true monistic interpretation of history. It suggests at any rate the common denominator and the connecting channel by which all the human interests act and react one upon another. The lack of harmony between the individual and nature would make itself felt in an internal disharmony that might constitute the spring to all action.

In all animals save the lowest the general tendency to contract the body and withdraw from unfavorable stimuli and to expand or approach toward favorable ones is differentiated into three fairly distinct categories—feeding, fearing, fighting. Of these primary differentiations, the function of nutrition was sovereign. The distinction of living from non-living matter consists in that there is in all organisms a specific transformation of material taken in from outside, and that all the activities of the organism are for the continuance of this specific transformation. Mode of food-getting first differ-

entiates animal life as mobile from plant life as sessile. The need to fear and to fight resulted from the hunger of other organisms or from extreme natural phenomena such as intense cold too extreme to be offset by food intake—with the exception, of course, of "accidents" that bore no fixed relation to the normal tenor of life.

Ever since the rudimentary soul developed into appetite, this has been one of the most potent "springs of mind." The food quest is the most engrossing fact of primitive man's existence. Hunger is the child's strongest, keenest, most imperative normal feeling; the mouth is his first psychic center. Probably three-fourths of the energy of the body goes to digestion and half the struggle for life is for food. The stomach is omnipresent (even in the sacrament) and there is a trophic or nutritive background to everything. "The instinct itself has carried over . . . remaining least changed of all instincts in our nature, yet basis of all changes in structure and function in the whole realm of life." Control over the food process is the supreme concern of individual and species. Control over this process is easier for groups in coöperation; hence collective control of the food process "becomes the positive basis of social organization, so that it is possible even to say, in a rough way, that the social process is a function of the food process." Defence may be regarded as the obverse of the food process since it is in the last analysis largely over the food supply that the necessity for defence arises.

In such a perspective the Socialists would perhaps have some justification for a "belly philosophy" such as Professor Foster attributed to them in his charge that "socialism would suck up all human life into the great question of the

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stomach and would like to bend all the higher powers . . . under the yoke of economic necessity." A considerable part of the assaults on the economic interpretation are really aimed, not at the doctrine itself but at inadvertent statements that tend to make of it a "hog philosophy." Novicow's assertion that "the economic materialists pretend that the only motor of human actions is the stomach" is of course an inaccurate and unduly simple rendition. The wants for food, clothing, and shelter are no more germane to the theory of economic determinism than are the wants for churches, tennis courts, or policemen's clubs; for all of these are economic goods. Nevertheless the economic life consists primarily in the provision of food, clothing, and shelter—the minimal necessities of life in the temperate zone. Clothing and shelter are themselves in part substitutes for food and in part supplements to meet a need for heat in excess of what the human organism is prepared to furnish by way of the digestive process.

It is for such reasons that the economic interpretation tends to reduce to a crude physiological dogma. Inasmuch as past economic evolution has not succeeded in surmounting the deficit of the elemental material necessities, the activity of man must be chiefly wrapped up in them, and the whole range and quality of wants is thus bound up with the status of the means of production. This is perchance a lamentable fact; but it was not created by the economic interpretation, and it may even be asserted that positive emphasis on this aspect of human necessity will tend to produce social changes that will push elemental material wants into the background of attention.

Whether or not the primary conditions of human progress have thus been present in social consciousness or not, it is im-

possible to dispute the universal potency of the underlying natural correlations arising from the crucial import of the material means of life. These prime requisites set inexorable limits to the path and reach of human achievement, and the economic system that grows up in connection with them becomes the most fundamental social institution, the one in terms of whose evolution all social development is to be described.

Before elaborating the less intrinsic human interests it is of importance to observe that the need for food, clothing, and shelter involves more directly the economic process than does any other want and depends exclusively on economic technique for its satisfaction, whereas some of the "higher" interests are only in part so dependent. A group unable to provide a sanctuary can worship under the open sky. Those unable to procure access to paintings and sculpture can drink in the beauties of nature. The man starving for lack of the material means of life can perhaps soar into the heights of religious ecstasy. But whether or not primary animal needs have been the largest factor in history, it is not the intent of the economic interpretation to represent social evolution as a product of motivation in terms of them. The need for the basic necessities has not changed greatly during historic times. If the race has evolved in the direction of greater delicacy, it may require perhaps less food but of finer quality; yet the average child could doubtless be trained to accommodate himself in large degree to the elements of savage life. The original sustenance urge may be somewhat altered in quantity or quality, but the change is not of extreme moment as compared with the adventitious accretions made possible by economic development. For there has been an astounding evolution of the mechanism for the satisfaction

of the material wants. The primitive demand for sustenance, encountering stubborn obstacles in the increase of population and the pressure of physical scarcity, has been turned into devious and complex paths. Thus the elemental wants constituted the original impulsion, but they have not charted the path of civilization. The direction of social evolution has been determined by the position and size of the obstacles and by the means found for their circumvention. So far as the obstacles are a part of the physical environment they have not changed substantially during historic times save as exterminated by human action or as conceivably augmented by the appearance or disappearance of varieties of bacteria or other forms of life. So far, also, as the obstacles inhere in the rapidity of multiplication of the human species, the potency has probably not altered particularly within historic times, even allowing for the inroads of venereal disease. Hence the variable factor has been neither the prime wants, nor the physical environment, nor the press of physiological fecundity, but, at least so far as the sustenance interest is concerned, the evolution of economic technique, which in turn has made possible, and hence determined, new wants of varied sort; so that, inasmuch as throughout the period of history economics has constituted the indispensable means on which the existence of society and the attainment of satisfactions in every line has hinged, the development of the economic means has conditioned and shaped the totality of social life and the major characteristics of its phases.

It is because the material minima of subsistence are preliminary or basal to the whole conduct of life that the economic system becomes a universal instrument for the attainment of all human interests. Of course the derivative wants

and institutions react on the economic sphere as will appear from the study of the whole range of human interests, but it remains the starting point of organized human effort. Since, therefore, food, clothing, and shelter are universal essentials in the course of civilization, though to the enlightened and reasonably well-to-do person they may be instrumental rather than in themselves objects of desire, and since economic life is so closely bound up with these basal interests, it is appropriate at this point to examine the economic system itself as the prime instrument of civilization and to inspect the body of thought that accompanies it.

Economics is a fit subject for sociological investigation not only on account of the theory of economic determinism, but also because economic life is, in the main, social life, and the sociologist is accordingly concerned with a phase of the subject that is very incidental to the economist. Traditional economics has been a study of things rather than of people, and in so far as it has dealt with human beings it has treated them in the main as tools rather than as personalities, or at least as individuals rather than as collectivities. It must be our task, as preliminary to a study of the superstructure of society, to examine the system of livelihood as a factor of social change, paying special attention to such questions as the reason for evolution in economic method, the extent to which economic thought has been dependent on the evolution of economic method, and the characteristics of an economics that would correlate with the needs of today. With these questions out of the way, it will be possible to get beyond the rudiments of life to a consideration of its higher values.

Skelton in his criticism of the economic interpretation calls attention to the "failure to offer any adequate explanation of

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the causes of those changes in the economic foundations of society which result in changes in the superstructure." This challenge is legitimate, for a want can not become prevalent save in so far as the means to satisfy it are in sight, and in so far as new wants follow the envisagement of new means of production, changing wants can not constitute the primary factor of social change. The economic innovation presupposed in the economic theory of social evolution could, however, come to pass through the operation of a complex of tendencies. It is to be remembered that "industry has developed . . . as a result of circumstances affecting the life of the community as a whole and not primarily by reason of any spontaneous tendency confined to the industrial field. The factors that have dominated industrial growth are economic rather than technological. Industry reacts to general social changes, and is seldom the initial cause of change."

The old proverb has it that "necessity is the mother of invention." Whatever measure of truth there may be in this saying may be elaborated into a study of population pressure on the means of subsistence, due either to the multiplication of the species or to the impoverishment of the environment. Now the tendency of the race to multiply is a substantially fixed biologic trait. It has not been a significantly variable factor in the problem of social evolution except as influenced by artificial psychic attitudes themselves a product of the stream of civilization and particularly of the introduction of economic surplus. Moreover while fecundity produces social pressure it does not determine the direction of escape and it is itself being more and more brought under control of that social technique conditioned by modern material achievement. As for the failing of economic resources,

such a mishap, unless occurring by geographic catastrophe, is a matter of economic technique itself and if it occasions a change of technique the result is not attributable to a non-economic factor. At all events, the sort of necessity depending on population pressure does not take us beyond the range of those material conditions of livelihood which constitute the economic problem. It is, to be sure, necessary to concede that such mesologic factors as the descent of the glaciers or the progressive aridification of land areas might induce immediate physiologic and psychologic changes not mediated by economic process, but since man became mind the direct transforming agency of the geographic environment has largely ceased and its effects have been brought to bear mainly through their economic consequences. It may indeed be said that the environmental factor in evolution was original; that the biologic factor was created by it; and that the resultant of their action produces the economic factor. This, however, is an artificial version of reality. The rise of life and the rise of economics were synonymous, inasmuch as "economics" is but the name we apply to the process of wrestling with an intractable environment.

If prime wants were let alone, they would vary but little; but intelligence creates new needs, and thus progress takes place. Social wants are the sociologic effect of the propagation of an invention or discovery. It is a commonplace of modern life that economic conditions create new wants faster than those wants can be satisfied, but of course the new wants are for things that can be produced by means capable of being envisaged. People may want to telephone to London by wireless; very few really want to telephone to Mars, simply because the technique for such a performance is too



remote from imagination. The existing economic mechanism, however, does create a pressure of desire that stimulates toward the development of new or increased means of satisfaction. There is thus a certain momentum of invention, mediated by the interests of the consumer. This principle gives larger truth to the proverb of "necessity" as the "mother of invention," which may not be a general truth if by "necessity" we mean the sheer problem of survival, but is in great measure true of that artificial necessity that comes with the diversification of wants. It was such necessity that built the pyramids and iced the delicacies of the Roman lord.

The particular form that will be assumed by the economic response to human need is largely inherent in the nature of material agencies capable of serving as instruments of man and in the nature of man himself, whether as an animate tool or as a directive agency. Man's nature as an original factor in our problem is itself a product of the struggle with the environment which in its later aspects becomes the economic system; and human nature as manifested in any social stage since history began is clearly shaped on the later lines of this struggle, a generalization whose full force will not be apparent until the whole of human life is studied in reference to the economic interpretation. As for the technique of livelihood, once started it tends to carry itself ahead, partly by reason of the constructive interest of man, partly by virtue of its effect on the increase of wants, and partly from the very nature and interrelation of material forces. The idea embodied in a tool or a machine fructifies to an extent that would be impossible if it had remained in the abstract. It would have required a colossal brain to think out in advance all the technical

progress of the past generation. It requires much less genius to allow oneself to become the channel by which one device is added to its predecessor; and now that technique has embodied itself not only in machines but in journals, in books, in laboratory equipment, it is possible for a regiment of ordinary brains to carry ahead the work of invention by virtue of the self-revealing character of technique that has reached the present stage. In other words, economic method which at first changed slowly and imperceptibly because of the meager momentum of the equipment of early times, has gathered, and continues to gather, a momentum that hastens social evolution. Socrates might say: "Sudden transformations can never be profound; profound transformations can never be sudden," and it was true enough in his day before there was any acceleration in the economic system; but no one that has lived during the past generation and witnessed the triumph of electricity can accept the ancient dictum as valid in the economic life, or for that matter in the social life, of our times. We know that an "industrial revolution" can take place suddenly and stir society to the depths. Our hopes for a speedy attainment of a social commonwealth are based largely on a realization of the gathered momentum of modern economic advance, which carries all society with it.

There is a reason why economic innovation can proceed more automatically than innovation in other spheres of life. Men interpose less objection to change in industrial mechanism as such than to change in other social spheres, because it begets less friction, owing to its harmony with obvious facts and needs; whereas the fields of morals, religion, politics, etc., being still, on account of their greater complexity, relatively uncharted and unexplored, change can not

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roll on over smooth highways and invade the land without creating irritation, but has to crash through jungles and over crevasses to such an extent as to bring to the *qui vive* even the stagnant mind. Thus if social change is to come with the minimum of perturbation, it must travel the scientific highways of economic technique which will in due time project their galleries into the realm of the "higher" interests and capture the citadel without disturbing the garrison. Reflect, for instance, on the unconsciously developed psychic and social effects of the universalization of telephone, automobile, and cinematograph. "First that which is natural; then that which is spiritual." Even the moral values of life are not air plants: they wither and die unless their roots are deep in mother earth.

A treatment of science will throw additional light on the whole question of invention and on the significance of the constructive genius. We can not account entirely for the personality of the inventor, but we may be reasonably sure that the essence of human heredity has not changed enough within historic times to do more than cause insignificant ripples on the great waves of history. There is no reason to suppose, for instance, that between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries the race became more fecund in men of mechanical genius. The flood of invention is not so to be explained but rather by economic developments. The time comes when the next step has to be taken and there are always fertile brains available as channels of expression. Whether or not the channels will be open depends principally on whether the existing economic system provides the means of training and the proper incentive. In a sense, leisure is the mother of invention and a sheer utilitarian age affords little of that free-

dom for constructive workmanship. Invention can never have its largest scope until it becomes less urgent, until the struggle for existence gives place to the free life.

The battle has never yet been won. Hitherto the history of civilization has been the history of "pain economy," of an "age of deficit." It is this very fact that gives such weight to the economic interpretation of history. We do not write history in terms of air and sunshine, not that they are not essential, but because these are superabundant and constitute no problem, unless in the incidental sense of their effect on the physiology of races. But so long as there is less than enough goods for all, the procural of the means of livelihood and life is crucial in social evolution. The indications are that economic evolution may culminate in an "age of surplus"—a "pleasure economy." In that event, the economic element of life would lose much of its significance, in that economic goods would be reduced to a commonplace and people would be at liberty to pursue their various interests without dealing with the problem of the economic means. If that day should arrive, while the economic interpretation of history would still be as true as ever in the objective sense, it would fall out of the center of attention as inconsequential in an age of leeway and freedom. Meanwhile we must reckon with the correlation between the economic system and civilization in general and must allow for the influence of livelihood on life, even in its higher reaches. Perhaps the first step in this cultural correlation is a study of the relativity of economic thought.

G. E. Vincent has pointed out that "in race development theories grow out of the solving of problems." Many authorities might be cited in support of the proposi-

tion that economic theory is a product of the economic process rather than a cause of it. Cournot used to declare that the influence of economists on the course of events was about equal to that of grammarians on the development of language. Misconception regarding doctrine arose to a considerable degree "from the erroneous view prevailing until recently that a great writer was enunciating eternal truths, instead of merely attempting to interpret a minute segment of the passing wave of human history." Nevertheless there is no history of economic doctrine, available in English at any rate, that gives adequate sociological explanation of the evolution of opinion in the sphere of economics.

The modern, so-called scientific, economics dates from the French economists of the second half of the eighteenth century. "Physiocracy became the rage" in the society of the day. Perhaps folks "gleaned some comfort from the thought of an unchangeable 'natural order' just when the political and social edifice was giving way" beneath their feet. At any rate, the hegemony in economics passed straightway to England, where the less personal social régime was more favorable to matter-of-fact thinking. As formulated for English-speaking students by Adam Smith and his successors, economics has remained virtually unchanged in substance, with only such incidental modifications of detail as have been forced by the more egregious developments in the economic system and by the rise of the new psychology. There might be no great objection to this state of affairs if the text-books made clear the relativity of their teachings as a reflection of a system that is passing away. Much of what the masters say is valid enough for its time but none of it is worthy of the arrogated eternity and absolutism. A

considerable part of what the standard texts contain is now entitled to be classed as blighting superstition. An economics of sufficient generality and with sufficient qualifications to give it eternal validity would be so tenuous and spectral as to be devoid of all substance and value. A great practical difficulty confronts the teacher of economics. If he attempts to base his teaching on the current texts, he must introduce so many exceptions and make so many allowances as to throw doubt on the whole matter, whereas if he attempts to build a body of doctrine consonant with the times and looking toward the future, he can find only odds and ends of printed matter to which to refer the student.

The reason for this state of affairs is not far to seek. Economic thought is a lagging reflex of economic fact. It lags thus on account of a special economic situation, namely the presence of vested interests that have so dulled the whole front of enquiry that the average scientist, especially in the social field, is only half aware of the limitations of his own subject. Thus partly knowingly, but largely through the Freudian mechanisms, the purveyors of economics have denatured their wares until the subject still deserves the name of the "dismal science" inasmuch as the surface furnishings have not altered the deadening heart of the matter.

It would be profitable to survey the whole history of economic thought and seek to account in terms of economic substratum and resulting social environment for the dogmas and theories of each time and place. Suffice it here to suggest two or three topics that illustrate how doctrines change in the course of time to correspond to basal conditions in the external world.

Plato believed, for instance, that the fewer wants the better, a doctrine common

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to Ruskin, Carlyle, and Thoreau. The reason for such a doctrine is obvious. Plato lived in an age of extreme deficit with small prospect of any great increase in production. Even the wealth of the free citizen was meager on the whole. The other writers mentioned lived in the midst of the ugliness and sordidness of the initial methods of the new industrialism which was causing so much misery as it began to solve the problem of increasing production. The whole ethic was in both cases the natural Puritanism of a "pain economy." Before the Great War, the race seemed on the threshold of an age of surplus and was envisaging ways of humanizing industry, so that it boldly faced the fact of scarcity and affirmed that the problem of life is not renunciation but output. Now as a result of the insane waste of the past decade, philosophical minds are drawn back toward the gospel of the simple life.

Medieval thought reprobated the acquisition of a surplus of wealth,—as was natural enough at a period when opportunities for investment or for diversified expenditure were meager. A little later when commerce and industrial development had created a crying need for capital and also greater temptations to extravagance, the cult of Puritanism with its emphasis on saving was in order. Still later as the era of economic development reached a high capitalization and the need for parsimony waned, the ethic of frugality ceased to dominate. Even the recent economic regression of the world has not revived the ethics of self-denial so far as the American people are concerned.

The medieval period had its doctrine of just wage and just price based on customary class standards. This was natural enough in a relatively static

society with class stratification; but when the Industrial Revolution had made industry and society kinetic and shaken up class lines, there could, in the nature of things, be no standard of fairness except what one could get. The same condition prevails in the main today. Most of the talk about profiteering is based on the fallacious assumption of a fixed standard of fairness, which of course does not exist. Nevertheless the scientific management concept brings with it the idea of a minimum wage adequate to ensure progressive efficiency; and since certain lines of industry have been thoroughly capitalized and prospected so that they are ceasing to be problematical, there ensues a régime of rate-fixing. Thus we are back at the old ethic of fair wage and fair price, but on a different basis.

We are in sight, that is, of a new economics. Whereas the old was absolutist, speculative, theoretical, naturalistic, materialistic, individualistic, and academic, the new promises to be relative, inductive, statistical, ethical, humanistic, social, and democratic. This revolution in the field of economic thought is taking place in close correspondence with objective social evolution. As society, under the spell of modern industrialism becomes variable, matter-of-fact, progressive, democratic, so economic theory becomes plastic, realistic, and radical. We can not say that the new economics is very articulate as yet, but it is developing along the lines suggested, as a reflex of the great change that the modern economic system is bringing to pass in respect to process and control.

This may not be the place to present a complete system of economics drawn up on the new lines, but it will surely not be amiss to indicate in a general way a few of the characteristics of a body of thought fitted to the circumstances and require-

ments of the current stage of social development. Such an economics would, first of all, emphasize people rather than things. We are swinging away from the type of materialism that expressed the momentum of the capitalist revolution. Technical problems of production are now in a fair way to solution. The inventions of the future will doubtless surpass those of the past, but the problem gives little concern,—the track is clear. The human element is now the unsolved factor in the problem of efficiency, and capitalist scientific management proves incapable of mastering it in any wide-spread way. Moreover the very intelligence and mass action which modern industry has required and developed for its purpose shifts the balance of power from tools to men. The upshot is that all values will have to be based on the human needs of the producer, so that every economic process and product will come to be appraised by its total net worth in the processes of production and consumption, and that worth will be measured in terms of the welfare of producer and consumer, not merely from the standpoint of their working efficiency, but from the standpoint of their human personalities. It is this tendency that gives central validity to Marx' work in shifting the center of the social universe from the axis of capital to the axis of labor. That he is as yet little more than a voice in the wilderness testifies to the fact that it takes time for the world's thought to come into correspondence with the objective situation; but no one can doubt that such a correlation is on the way to establishment.

In the second place, an economics for today will emphasize production of wealth rather than the distribution of wealth. This assertion may, of course, sound like a reactionary apology for the capitalist system; for, during the past generation

radicals have talked mainly of the unfair distribution of wealth, assuming that if wealth were equitably apportioned welfare would be universal. In reality the main indictment against the present social system is not its injustice but its inefficiency. It is very clear that the economic system is probably not more than 25 per cent efficient. The chief harm done by injustice is indirect, through the damper put on efficiency by the prevalent sense of unfairness and discouragement, with the resultant waste of energy in friction and inertia. If lack of equity is remedied the chief benefit will accrue from the effect in enhanced efficiency of production. Or, to put the matter in another way, if we could eliminate inefficiency of production while leaving in the economic system all its unfairness, we should improve general material welfare vastly more than if we were to establish absolute equity on the present level of efficiency. This follows from the fact that of the present annual product of industry, the only part that would be available for fairer distribution is the part consumed in luxury. This is so small an item in the total that if it could be passed around it would be of slight help in raising the general level of well-being. On the other hand, the output of the economic system could be doubled or trebled if it were organized as an effective machine with the minimum of friction and lost motion; and this could be done without adding to the strain on any one; indeed the general tension could be materially lessened. Hence the present pertinence of emphasis on productivity.

Thirdly, an economics fit for the times would emphasize functional apportionment of product rather than the traditional shares of distribution. It is becoming clear that the stock doctrine which regards rent, interest, wages, and profits as

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the natural shares of product is an adventitious theory springing from a specific economic order. In a functional theory, there would come first an efficiency sustenance for labor (to be paid doubtless in periodic installment comparable to wages); next a fund for the depreciation and replacement of capital both fixed and circulating; thirdly, an extension fund; fourthly, a contribution to the general capital improvement of the economic system; fifthly, a contribution to general social projects; and finally a bonus fund, to be apportioned among all those that are functional in the industry. Whether or not a particular industry would yield contributions to every one of these items would depend on the degree of its development, on its classification in respect to productivity, and on variations in circumstance not correctly estimated by the statistical forecast of business.

Fourthly, the new economics will elaborate the theory of consumption. Carver in his "Religion Worth Having" eulogizes the Puritanical virtues of industry and frugality to such an extreme that one would be tempted to picture his ideal universe as one set full of perpetual motion machines, each capable of turning out an infinite product in an infinitesimal time, but with no people in existence at all. Now if we are really in sight of the "age of surplus," the "pleasure economy," the processes of "consumption" (in which is included gratifying occupation) will become final and not instrumental. We shall judge a symphony by some other standard than its effect on tomorrow's industrial output. The new economics will judge every productive and every consumptive act and process in terms of net utility in terms of human welfare and not by its effect on the total output of material goods. In so far as the new economics stresses productivity,

as brought out above, it does so as instrumental and not as final, the economic supply being regarded as simply the instrument for the achievement of the whole range of human values.

Such a slight elaboration of the economic system as a body of thought and a body of practice having to do with the supply of the most basal material needs—for food, clothing, and shelter—and incidentally of such "higher" needs as require an apparatus of their own, exhibits the operation of the principle of relativity in the light of the economic interpretation of history. The original food quest has developed untold ramifications but with no departure from the original principle of evolution in conformity to the conditions of livelihood. Even if we fall in line with the tendency of recent thought to stress the original motility of protoplasm, or on higher levels to emphasize the priority of self-expression, thus adopting the view that the desire for activity, or "the instinct of workmanship," as a condition of organic health is anterior to and more basal than the food quest so that eating is tributary to the expression of self in an outflow of energy, nothing is detracted from the foundation of the economic interpretation or from the theory of relativity, inasmuch as it was external necessity that shunted energy outlay from its spontaneous paths into the rather irksome channels of economic production and that erected theories glorifying work and assuming that man is inherently lazy, whereas he is merely in revolt against a rudimentary economic system. In any case livelihood is the requisite of life and the economic process determines the quantity and quality of existence. A common fallacy in popular versions of economic determinism consists in isolating the elementary needs of man and calling them economic, whereas



economics enters every field where material means must be used for the attainment of ends; and every interest is economic in so far as its satisfaction depends upon the procural of material means. Most interests are of this character. Whether one wants food, children, churches, games, paintings, health, government, armies—he can have them in the main only by providing the material means. Thus wants, on the whole, become functional only as means are available, and can evolve only as fast as means are evolved; so that even if the pursuit of elemental necessities should not constitute the cardinal element in life, the economic interpretation might

still hold. One may venture the assertion that the cornerstone of sociology must be a sound doctrine of social correlation—a body of truth that will gather up the facts of collectivity into one and show them all coherent in their setting. The achievement of such a synthesis will involve protracted effort along the lines so far sketched in this treatise. The chapters that follow will further illustrate the method, and will aim at tentative results from its application. It does not seem too much to expect that the thesis herein laid down will in the course of time become an accepted basis for systematic sociology.

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## TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

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### SOCIAL PATTERN: A METHODOLOGICAL STUDY

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

THEORIES to account for the social behavior of human beings have deluged us ever since sociology received recognition as a subject worthy of study. That this has been comparatively recent, as the history of science goes, perhaps may account for the fact that such a vast amount of sociological literature may perhaps better be placed in the realm of philosophy and metaphysics than in that of science. It is the reaction to this fact, felt surreptitiously by so many working in the field of sociology, that is responsible for the number of papers which have been read and published as to whether sociology may be termed a science, and, if so, just what its place might be. These may be regarded as more or less a groping of minds turned into a field where chaos has reigned, and the chief values of such discussions, it may be asserted, has been to set sociologists thinking about what was wrong with their approach to the subject of the social actions of humans.

In the past few years, there has been a group of thinkers who have veered sharply away from the method of sociology which was employed for so large a part of the life of the subject, which consisted of rationalising at length concerning the motives which do or do not produce certain social phenomena, or, more often, which produce whole societies. This

method, it may be remarked, has brought no dearth of reasons to account for social phenomena. The characteristic of each, however, has been to put forward the claim of one main-spring which makes society go, and to disregard all the other forces which might be at work. Thus, all cause and reason might be stated as economic, or was supposed to come from the clash of conflict, or the gathering together of like-minded individuals, or to be due to certain innate biological tendencies which were assumed to be present, or, perhaps, might be simply sociological. And the plausibility of these theories is quite great: certainly no one would deny that all of the forces which have been mentioned are operative to a certain extent, and the main trouble with all these irreconcilable explanations seems to have been that they all insisted on being mutually exclusive.

The stimulation to the newer viewpoint, to which those who disagree with the older theories hold, came, in the main, from those students of society who are occupied with societies other than our own, the anthropologists.<sup>1</sup> They recog-

<sup>1</sup> A bibliographical discussion of the position of these men, showing where statements of this have been found, is contained in a paper by M. M. Willey and the writer, entitled "The Cultural Approach to Sociology," *Amer. Jour. Soc.*, vol. xxix, no. 2, September, 1923, pp. 188-199.

nised the fact that to a person born into a society, with its fixed ways of behavior, it is difficult, if not almost impossible, to state a principle that will cover all societies. For the most prominent aspect of primitive groups to the student who considers them closely and without a theory held *a priori*, is their bewildering dissimilarity. Lay down any guiding principle you will, and there will be not one, but a dozen flourishing communities which will refuse to fit into your scheme. And thus it slowly developed, particularly from the researches of the American anthropologists, that the only method whereby the behavior of a social group might be understood was on the basis of its own historical background. The theories of inherent likenesses or of biological differences, of a principle of strife or fondness, were all found to be true,—to a certain extent. "The variations in cultural development can as well be explained by a consideration of the general course of historical events without recourse to the theory of material differences of mental faculty in different races," remarks Professor Boas.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Wissler, after an engaging discussion of the aspects of our own civilisation which would strike the visiting Eskimo as most amusing, says, "One of the great values to be derived from the study of different peoples, is the attainment of perspective, . . . from which we begin to see our own culture from the outside. The objects and scenes of our daily lives look natural and consequential only because we have seen little else; if we can once break up this monotony, by looking long and attentively at a different order of life, even our own will begin to appear as queer and amusing."<sup>3</sup>

Thus the clue to the behavior of social

groups lies not in the accommodation of the data to one of the preconceived theories which best suits the student's temperament, but through a thorough study of the historical background of the society or the social phenomenon to which the student wishes to devote his attention. "Each cultural group has its own unique history, dependent partly upon the peculiar inner development of the social group and partly upon the foreign influence to which it has been subjected."<sup>4</sup> The sociologists have, to some extent, begun to recognize the importance of a wider perspective in the study of cultural phenomena than limitation to our own culture affords, and the necessity of the utilisation of the historical method. "The historical method is particularly fruitful in the study of society, and is also valuable in the analysis of social phenomena when we are trying to ascertain the cultural, psychological, biological, and climatic factors. . . . The historical method in its extreme simplification means getting the cultural facts."<sup>5</sup> Or, to illustrate how lack of perspective can complicate the consideration of a definite problem, we are told that, for example, "In the western world democracy has become so widely accepted and so generally a part of the mores, that a clear-cut, impassioned analysis is difficult. The concept has been wrapped in a cloak of emotion that hides the true features."<sup>6</sup>

The social psychologists, as well, have begun to recognize this importance of the historical background of culture for the study of the mechanisms which make humans socially-minded, and in several

<sup>2</sup> Boas, "Method of Ethnology," *Amer. Anthropologist*, vol. xxii (n. s.), p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> Ogburn, "The Historical Method in the Analysis of Social Phenomena," *Pub. Amer. Sociological Soc.*, vol. xvi, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Willey, in *Political Theories in Recent Times*, p. 47.

<sup>1</sup> *The Mind of Primitive Man*, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Man and Culture*, p. 4.

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<sup>7</sup> *Social Psychol*

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recent works, we find a strong stand taken for the historical point of view. Allport devotes a long section to the social character of the individual's thinking, speaks of how the very fundamentals of the thinking of the individual, concepts, "or symbol reactions . . . have evolved through language and therefore have a social origin. . . . In the broader aspects also of thought we find an inseparable social significance. In order to comprehend a question in all of its bearings we must study the history of social discussion which has centered about it up to the present time."<sup>7</sup> The earlier social psychologists, referred everything to instinct. But Allport insists that habit, or acculturation to the current mores, as it may be termed in the social sense, is of equal importance, and Dewey tells us that "the meaning of native activities . . . depends upon interaction with a matured social medium. . . . We have need to know about the social conditions which have educated original activities into definite and significant dispositions before we can discuss the psychological element in society." And shortly after this, discussing the attempt to attribute the bewildering dissimilarities in cultures to native differences, he remarks, ". . . their original differences will bear no comparison to the amount of diversity found in custom and culture. Since such a diversity cannot be attributed to an original identity, the development of native impulse must be stated in terms of acquired habits, not the growth of customs in terms of instincts."<sup>8</sup> Bartlett, discussing the same problem says, "our attempt in general is to understand antecedent conditions of response," while "modifications of response arising within a given social

group during the period under consideration must be explained."<sup>9</sup>

It is, then, this failure to assimilate thoroughly the historical point of view, and lack of social vision required to surmount our own culture, that accounts for so many systems of sociological explanation that seem to break down as soon as any wide application of them is attempted. The methodological step which must be first taken, in the study of society, if we are to arrive at any understanding at all adequate, is one which must be based on the historical background of the society studied. This applies to studies of our own society quite as much as to those of primitive groups, and even more so, for the society in which we are living today is of such complexity as to defy the thinker who lays down generalizations without having first attempted to check up on the actual data. In other words, the chief tool of a sociology which is to study the problems we have at hand will have to be the adding-machine, until we have at least an adequate knowledge of where we stand in any given social situation.

As the cultures of primitive societies are studied, it becomes more and more apparent that there is little rhyme or reason for the actions we see in them, other than the time-honored one "it has always been done thus." In other words, a thing is done because it once happened to have been done so, and this method became set in the habits of the people and ingrained in their pattern of behavior. It is true that we compliment ourselves that this is not the case with us, but the stability of cultural traits even among ourselves is a fact that needs more than rationalization to disprove, and one need not adduce examples here of how we continue to do things which have little

<sup>7</sup> *Social Psychology*, p. 416.

<sup>8</sup> *Human Nature and Conduct*, pp. 90-91.

<sup>9</sup> *Psychology and Primitive Culture*, pp. 16-17.

reason, or which might not be done more sensibly in different fashion, merely because we are accustomed to seeing them done the way we do them.

Culture, then, is the subject for the research of the sociologist. And its mechanisms are beginning to be understood. Capricious though its forms may be, there are certain generalizations to be made, and which seem to hold for any culture which may be studied. One of the most impressive facts about the working of culture which has come to be recognized during the past generation is the extent to which it is transmissible from one society to another,—the fact of its diffusion. This was not recognized by the earlier students, who insisted that the similarities were due to the following out of a uniform evolutionary scheme, and that every culture, if left alone, would go through identical phases of development resulting from the character of the human psyche. Recently, however, we have seen a swing in the other direction, and the theories of Graebner<sup>10</sup> who feels that a definite trait can only have been once invented, no matter what be its distribution, or those of the school of Elliot Smith<sup>11</sup> in England, which holds that "civilization" was invented once and for all in Egypt, and follows this with the fantastic idea that this invention, diffused through the whole world, is responsible even for the cultures of Mexico and Central America, show how far the pendulum has swung. What seems ap-

parent is that any given culture is composed of two elements, a certain amount, probably the smaller, which has originated within the group, and a much larger amount which has been borrowed. These cultural traits, as they may be called, can be recognized, and can be studied in the effort to give the clue to the mechanisms of diffusion, or the extent to which inner development occurs. Studies of this phenomenon have been made, and we are gradually coming to a realization of the extreme motility of cultural traits, and the curious forms a comparable phenomenon may take in different societies to which it is diffused. One such study, on the spread of the guardian spirit in North America, has been made by Dr. Benedict, and her conclusion puts the case succinctly: "It is, so far as we can see, an ultimate fact of human nature that man builds up his culture out of disparate elements, combining and recombining them; and until we have abandoned the superstition that the result is an organism functionally interrelated, we shall be unable to see our cultural life objectively, or to control its manifestations."<sup>12</sup>

The combination of single traits into groupings, which may be termed cultural complexes, may also be observed.<sup>13</sup> At the same time, perhaps, the most important observation which the sociologist will find as an assistance to the study of

<sup>10</sup> Memoir 29, Amer. Anth. Association, *The Guardian Spirit in North America*, pp. 84-85. This position is also taken by Lowie, *Primitive Religion* (New York, 1924), pp. 51-53.

<sup>11</sup> This has been observed in the case of the Indians of the Plains by Wissler, "The Influence of the Horse in Plains Culture," *Amer. Anth.*, vol. xvi (n. s.), pp. 1-25, and by the writer for Africa, "The Cattle Complex in East Africa," MSS., while the hunting-area complex has been traced in the case of the northern Algonkian by F. G. Speck, in "The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization," *Amer. Anth.*, vol. xvii (n. s.), 1915, 289-305, and in other papers.

<sup>10</sup> Graebner's fullest presentation of his position is in his *Method der Ethnologie* (Heidelberg, 1911), and in his paper "Die Melanesische Bogencultur und ihre Verwandten," *Anthropos*, vol. iv (1909), pp. 726-780, 998-1032.

<sup>11</sup> The fullest presentation of this position is in Smith's article "Anthropology," in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 12th ed., vol. xxx, pp. 147-153, and in the volume by W. E. Perry, entitled *The Children of the Sun*, New York, 1924.

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present-day society is the existence of what is called the cultural pattern. Perhaps it is not correct to use the word "the" in connection with it, for the plural would be more accurate. There are patterns and patterns in every society, and it depends largely on the aspect which is observed, which will be remarked by the student. There are, however, in the main, usually to be observed two or three dominating patterns within which the minor patterns function. Thus, we might say that the chief patterns of our society were mechanistic and materialistic.<sup>14</sup> Within this, however, are the bewildering array of minor patterns, which govern our lives with a rigidity which, it is believed, will come to be recognized more and more as studies of society, with the fact of the existence of pattern in mind, are made. For the patterns, once established, or, in other words, certain ways of doing things, which have been singled out by a society in a way that may be described as accidental, have a deep effect on the behavior of the persons who live in the society.

Thus, to quote Dr. Benedict's paper once more: "There is then no observed correlation between the vision-guardian-spirit concept, and the other traits with which it is associated . . . over the continent, and we have found no coalescence which we may regard as being other than fortuitous,—a historical happening of definite time and place. . . . It is in every case a matter of social patterning—of that which cultural recognition has singled out and standardized."<sup>15</sup> The things we have learned from observing how they are done become a part and parcel of our natures. Habituation becomes so

deep that the reaction from a violation of the accustomed ways of doing things becomes highly emotional, and as prompt as though it were instinctive. And it need not be added that these ways of doing things have not any rational basis—in the field of what are called "manners," for example, there are instances to be cited without end of behavior on our part that would be as bewildering to the student who came into our own culture from one entirely different as are the many customs of primitive folk to the untrained observers who happen to come in contact with them. And anyone who will take the trouble to read some of the accounts of early explorers, may see more than clearly the effect of being thrown into contact with patterns of behavior which are entirely different from those to which the naïve observer is accustomed.

For the sociologist, the application of the notion of pattern to the problems in which he is interested has the effect of laying them open much in the manner in which the student of physiology lays open the muscles of the body which he is dissecting. It gives an ability to see the problem in hand with a clarity which is nothing less than startling in the detachment which the student gains. After all, if the phenomenon being studied is regarded as something which is historical, which is more or less independent of the associated phenomena except to the extent to which usage has associated them, it is obvious that this would result. For when one commences the study of social happenings with a preconception which is inseparable from all the stated "systems" of sociology, there is a befogging of the vision which only the clearest of thinkers can glimpse through, and this only seldom. It was this realization that made the contribution of Sumner so important, and it is unfortunate that the

<sup>14</sup> This has been recognized by Thorstein Veblen in a number of his studies, notably in *The Instinct of Workmanship* and *The Theory of the Leisure Class*.

<sup>15</sup> Op. cit., p. 84.



folkways and mores have become more in the nature of catch-words rather than a discipline. As has been said, the application of the pattern concept makes it possible to recognize a more or less isolated phenomenon and study its workings. Of course, it is not to be assumed that, in a given society, the patterns are at all isolated, for there is constant interaction and influencing of one with another. But through the utilization of this method social data are put on a sociological plane, and an objective discussion can be had.

It may be well here to give an example, before proceeding to the actual data on which this study is based, of the manner in which the notion of social pattern may be utilized. It has been claimed that culture is a racial thing, while it is also maintained that the reason that groups of persons of similar racial strains live together is the attraction of like to like. Similarly, this phenomenon may be accounted for in the clash of opposing forces between peoples of different composition. Let us take, for our example, the Negro community of the United States. More particularly, the large community which is situated in the Harlem district of New York City may be taken, perhaps for no other reason than it is with this one that the writer is best acquainted, and that it has been here that he has carried on his researches. Here we have a group numbering in the neighborhood of 200,000 individuals, and it would be expected that if there were innate differences, or if the Negro in America had responded to the peculiar problems he has to face through strife and isolation, they would show most clearly. Let us, however, apply the notion of the existence of social patterns, which control the actions of any group, and see the extent to which the culture which is found in Harlem can be accounted for. There are, in the general community

in this country—that is, the White community—many phenomena of everyday life which may be used as tests. Thus, we find there is everywhere a large and enthusiastic business organization. Persons dress in certain ways—the sexes dress differently. There are student and professional groups, and others, which are usually organized in fairly definite ways—college fraternities and sororities, social-work groups, church groups, professional and business associations, and the like. Certain forms of work are done, and for certain kinds of compensation. Certain types of amusement are indulged in. If it were true that the Negro were responding to an innate difference in his make-up, or were responding solely to the needs of his own problems through like associating with like, or through the stress of conflict through which he maintains himself in the United States, we should find something typical here, if anywhere.

And what do we actually find? There is, in Harlem, a typical American community. It is to be noticed that the term American is used, and not White, in describing it. What we have is a society in which the members are controlled by the patterns of the larger society in which its members live. The clothing which the New York Negro wears is quite the same as those his White brother and sister wear. The occupations in which he is employed are none in which we do not find Whites, whether these be those of porter or doctor or philosophy. Secret societies abound—and not only are they patterned after the prevailing type, but they often have even the same names, and, as far as can be ascertained, the same ritual. All the prevailing religious denominations are represented in this community, and the rituals employed are the standard ones, and this goes so far that the Negro branches are quite a part of the larger

denominations working jurisdiction connected churches, and recreation the White medical associations where there does not organization. The recreation moving among the population which has stop at the Negro ties and after the alumni associations have finished Negro newspapers no dailies are printed and indeed, if take the in Chicago it was a Negro this exception

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denominational groups which control the workings of the churches within their jurisdictions. There are social centers connected with the more prosperous churches, in which the same sort of classes and recreational groups are found as in the White ones. We see a flourishing medical association, and a business men's association, and even in those groups where the color-line of trade-unionism does not permit Negroes to join the larger organizations, there are Negro unions. The recreations are much the same—the moving pictures are quite as popular as among the Whites, and the radio craze and the popularity of the cross-word puzzle which has swept the country does not stop at the color-line. We find, among the Negro students, Greek-letter fraternities and sororities which are patterned after the prevailing type, nor are there alumni associations lacking for those who have finished their college careers. The Negro newspapers, although there are no dailies (the papers of general circulation are widely read) are quite like those printed anywhere else in the country—indeed, if we go a bit farther afield, and take the largest Negro paper, published in Chicago, the reader who did not know it was a Negro paper would never suspect this except from the pictures.

Is there, then, a typical Negro cultural element in the Negro community of the United States, and, if so, what is the cause of it? It is surely not a racial one, for the culture, to the observer, is quite the same as the general culture of this country. About the only difference that one can observe is that there is a difference in the pigmentation of the individuals who live in it. There certainly is not the pull of like to like, for we are always hearing of Negroes who move away from the Negro centers whenever the possibility offers, and the opinion may be hazarded that

the reason for the segregation is rather the general social pattern of non-association,—that is, pressure from the outside—rather than a voluntary thing. The African tradition, which might be expected to show if there were definite Negro cultural tendencies which were inborn in the group, is certainly not present. And if the spirituals be cited, it might be remarked that these melodies are the result of a certain musical ability playing through the very distinctive American religious pattern of the time when they were composed. The problem, of course, as to the differing ability of racial groups is one which still has to be solved, nor is this the place to attempt a discussion of it. But this much may be remarked—for the sociologist, it is more or less irrelevant in the light of what has been said above. For it is obvious that, whether there are more or less incompetents per 100,000 among Negroes than among Whites, or more or less of the genius group, nevertheless the fact remains that, as far as the vast majority of the Negro population is concerned, adaptation to the prevailing patterns of the country has been achieved, and the business of getting a living solved by them. The problem, then, becomes one which can be attacked on a sociological and economic basis, and, in the main, the Negro group in this country can be treated, outside their peculiar problems, quite as the rest of the larger social unit of which they form a part.

The data which are to be adduced below were gathered during a study of the problem of variability under racial crossing.<sup>16</sup> Since this research is in no sense sociological, it may be well to give a brief statement of the manner in which the data happened to be gathered. In the course of the

<sup>16</sup> This research has been carried on under a National Research Council Fellowship in the Biological Sciences.

investigation, during which some 1400 colored school-children were measured for various anthropometric characteristics, it was thought well to ask each child the occupation of his father, so that, if feasible, a study might be attempted to see the extent to which differing economic status might affect growth. In the same way, each child was asked whether his mother remained at home or worked out, since it is hoped that it will be possible to measure the complete families of many of these children, thus paving the way for studies of heredity. It was noticed, after several hundred children had been measured, that the method of asking the question concerning the mother's working outside the home took two forms, although this developed quite unconsciously. According to the occupation of the father, the question was either "What kind of work does your mother do?" or "Does your mother work?" A full realization of the significance of this did not occur until some time later, when it was realized that prediction, to a fair extent, could be made as to whether the mother worked or not from the nature of the father's occupation.

Let us now ask ourselves the significance of this fact. There is, in this country, a distinct school of opinion, usually centering about those who hold to the tenets of the feminist movement, that there has been effected in the past generation a great change in the number of the women who work in this culture. And it cannot be denied that this is, to a certain extent, true. Occupations and professions which were closed to women have been forced open to them, and there are undoubtedly more working women today than ever before. At the same time, we may consider the pattern regarding women which perhaps anyone can state after a moment's reflection. It may be

said to be something like this: Women after marriage, are supposed to take care of the home and tend to the children. The man pays the way, the woman cares for the physical comfort of her family by using what the provider places at her disposal. Women who work after marriage are regarded as something of an anomaly, and the well-known criterion of a "good" marriage on the part of the young woman is whether the man who becomes her husband can "provide" for her, as the saying goes. That this is an adequate statement of the case may be verified by anyone in a few moments' talk with almost any young person of either sex, and needs no examples to carry conviction.<sup>17</sup> It will be objected that there are perhaps more women working today than ever before. And this will not be denied, for there can be no question that the pattern has changed to this extent: that it is not thought opprobrious for an unmarried woman to earn her living. Further, and it is on this point that the data to be shown below are of significance, we find that the prevailing pattern is broken only in two general groups—in the lower economic strata, and among the upper intellectual classes. The latter group is not large, and is only to be found in our larger cities, and the present paper is not concerned with it. It is with the parents of the children measured by the writer, all of whom belong to the group which wavers about the poverty line, where the working of the general pattern would be expected to show.

If the theory which has been advanced

<sup>17</sup> This has been strikingly demonstrated by Dr. Pruette, in her work *Women and Leisure*, where, out of 388 cases, 149 young women chose to be wife or mother in preference to anything else. A study of the day dreams of these adolescent girls shows similar findings.

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in this paper is correct—that is, that the persons in a society respond to the patterns of behavior of that society, and that this behavior can be accounted for on the basis of a study of the cultural elements which have combined to make the patterns, and the ways in which they have been combined by a society through its historical experience, then we would expect to find in this group that among those fathers employed in the more lucrative occupations, or in those where the work is steadier, or in those to which greater social prestige is attached, there would be fewer wives working than in those occupations which are lower in the economic and social scale. Therefore, it was decided to tabulate the data in hand, and in this way to see what results might be obtained. There are represented here 622 families; there are numerous cases where one or both parents are dead, or where the mother lives in New York while the father works elsewhere, or vice versa, and no such cases have been included. There were also numerous sets of fraternities, and these were assembled before tabulation was attempted to guard against duplication. Again, certain of the classifications will be found to be vague. This is the result of information asked the younger children, but it was thought that the best practise would be to ask no leading questions, and to be satisfied with as much as the child could give by himself. In such cases, which were not numerous, where the statements of two children of the same parents conflicted on any point, this material was also not utilized.

Let us then survey the results of the tabulation, throwing the data into five general groups. In the first, there are those occupations in which no wives were found who worked outside the home—in other words, this is the group which

TABLE I  
OCCUPATIONS WHERE NO WIVES WORK

Auto cleaner.....	3
Actor.....	1
Building worker.....	1
Business man.....	2
Cigar inspector (United States).....	1
Copper-worker.....	1
Clerk, Board of Education.....	1
Car-cleaner, railroad.....	3
Cooper.....	1
Contractor.....	3
Cleaner and dyer.....	1
Dentist.....	1
Doctor.....	1
Dance-hall manager.....	1
Foundry-worker.....	1
Freight loader.....	1
Ferry-boat inspector (of porters).....	1
Hotel worker.....	1
Jeweler.....	2
Iron worker.....	1
Lumber-yard worker.....	1
Lawyer.....	2
Lead-washer (type factory).....	2
Messenger (banks, lawyers).....	6
Minister.....	1
Machinist.....	1
Meat-plant worker.....	4
Milk-driver.....	1
Oil-worker (linseed).....	2
Photographer.....	1
Peddler.....	3
Printer (foreman).....	1
Printer.....	5
Plumber.....	3
Rubber-factory worker.....	1
Switch-board operator.....	1
Stucco-worker.....	1
Sugar-worker.....	10
Salesman.....	2
Ship-caulker.....	1
Street-cleaner.....	1
Sailor.....	3
Stenographer.....	2
Tunnel-worker ("sand-hog").....	6
Teamster.....	3
Ticket-collector.....	1
Tar-paper maker.....	1
Undertaker.....	1
Window-cleaner (owns company).....	1
Waiter (head).....	1

would be expected to be in complete accord with the prevailing pattern, and it is interesting to see whether the assumption that, by and large, here would be found those occupations represented which are steadiest, best paid, and of most social prestige, holds.

TABLE II  
OCCUPATIONS IN WHICH FEWER WIVES WORK THAN  
Do Not

	WORK- ING	NOT WORK- ING
Auto painter.....	1	2
Bricklayer.....	3	4
Clerk (store).....	1	2
Carpenter.....	8	14
Cook (or chef).....	6	13
Coal-yard worker.....	1	5
Cigar-maker.....	1	2
Cement (concrete) worker.....	2	4
Clerk (shipping).....	2	6
Elevator man.....	17	23
Engineer.....	2	5
Electrical worker.....	1	2
Fireman.....	5	6
Grocer.....	1	2
Janitor.....	11	12
Laundry-worker.....	2	4
Mechanic.....	3	5
Musician.....	1	5
Moving-van worker.....	1	3
Porter (pullman).....	6	13
Post-office employee.....	3	5
Red-cap.....	4	10
Shoe-maker.....	1	3
Truckman.....	2	7
Tailor.....	3	7
Waiter.....	4	14
Watchman.....	1	5

This is seen to be quite the case. Of course, the numbers which we have here are not as large as might be desired, but the indication is clear, and will become clearer as the later tables are consulted. Thus, the professions, and positions of trust, though sparsely represented, are in this class, as might be expected—man-

agers, executives, doctor and lawyer, messengers (position of permanency, requiring trust), the skilled trades, such as printer, plumber, sugar-worker, stenographer, "sand-hogs," a dangerous but remunerative calling, and others. Let us next turn to the class of occupations, more of the wives of the men following which do not work than those who do. The most striking figures here are those for carpenters, cooks, engineers, Pullman porters, porters who carry grips in railway stations (red-caps), truckmen, tailors, waiters, and watchmen. All of these are the better-paid occupations, and, again, what we find is what might be expected to be found if it were true that, along the poverty line, it is those women that work who are forced to do so. There are several interesting figures that may be given special comment. It will be noticed that the number of elevator men's wives who work is nearly equal to the number of those who do not. This case was particularly striking, and prediction is difficult, in a given case where a man has a position of this sort. It depends on the elevator he is running, and the situation of the building in which it is operated. Thus, the operator of a high-speed elevator down-town, or of one in an expensive apartment-house, does not often have a wife who works, while the men who operate them in less opulent portions of the city do not often have wives who remain at home. Again, this is the case with janitors and firemen, the latter often being the term applied to the men who take care of the boilers in the large buildings and who also do janitor work. It largely depends on the location of the building in which they work, its size and the class of persons who live or work in it.

In Table III are shown the occupational groups in which the wives of the workers

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OCCUPATIO

Asphalt w  
Barber...  
Bottle-mal  
Clerk (mai  
Clerk (pos  
Chauffeur  
Candy-wor  
Employe  
Mail-carrie  
Plasterer...  
Painter...  
Pharmacis  
Railroad w  
Tinner....  
Truck-help

OCCUPATION

Door-man..  
Factory-wor  
Garageman.  
Laborer...  
Longshorem  
Packer.....  
Porter.....

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who themselves work is equal to the number of those who do not. The most outstanding figure is that for chauffeurs, and since the term includes everything from the well-to-do private driver in a rich family to that of a "pirate" taxicab

TABLE III

OCCUPATIONS WHERE EQUAL NUMBERS OF WIVES WORK AND DO NOT WORK

	WORK- ING	NOT WORK- ING
Asphalt worker.....	1	1
Barber.....	4	4
Bottle-maker.....	1	1
Clerk (mailing).....	1	1
Clerk (post-office).....	3	3
Chauffeur.....	10	10
Candy-worker.....	1	1
Employment-agency owner.....	1	1
Mail-carrier.....	1	1
Plasterer.....	2	2
Painter.....	4	4
Pharmacist.....	1	1
Railroad worker.....	1	1
Tinner.....	1	1
Truck-helper.....	2	2

TABLE IV

OCCUPATIONS WHERE MORE WIVES WORK THAN DO NOT

	WORK- ING	NOT WORK- ING
Door-man.....	2	1
Factory-worker.....	5	3
Garageman.....	4	2
Laborer.....	17	7
Longshoreman.....	17	15
Packer.....	3	1
Porter.....	30	17

operator working for someone else at starvation wages, this is not surprising. On the other hand, there are the painters, post-office clerks, and barbers, whose wives might not be expected to work.

Certain of the figures in Table IV, com-

prising the class of occupations the wives of the men in which work more often than not, we find again are of interest. The most arresting figure is that for porters. It will be remembered that in Table II, porters who have permanent positions, and the more lucrative ones, have wives who stay at home more often than they go out to work. But when we

TABLE V

OCCUPATIONS WHERE ALL WIVES WORK

Accountant.....	1
Aluminum worker.....	2
Auto mechanic.....	4
Butcher.....	4
Boatswain.....	1
Coke-worker.....	1
Cabaret-worker.....	1
Delivery-man.....	2
Fur-coat worker.....	1
Fisherman.....	1
General worker.....	3
House-worker.....	3
Hat maker.....	1
Jewelry maker.....	1
Mason.....	2
Piano mover.....	1
Prize fighter.....	1
Pool-room worker.....	3
Presser.....	2
Real-estate agent.....	3
Stevedore.....	2
Stoker.....	1
Store-keeper (lunch-room).....	1
Steward on boat.....	3
White-washer.....	2

come to the men with the cleaning jobs, which, of course, pay much less than the others, we find a decisive figure in just the other direction. Again, this is true in the case of laborers, where the data are large enough to be worthy of attention. The case of longshoremen is interesting. It was puzzling at first, since the position of longshoreman is generally supposed to be underpaid, and the men who work at it come in the class of floating, transient workers. Upon inquiry,



however, it was learned that the age factor is decisive—the younger the man and the stronger he is, the more calls he gets for work on the ships that arrive, and the more money he makes. Since there is no means of knowing the ages of the men represented in the table, it is difficult to say whether this throws any real light or not on the closeness of the figures in the two columns, but it is worth serious consideration.

When we turn to the last group, we find few of the better-paid callings represented. It is true that the head of the list is "accountant," but there is but one case, and his wife, it is to be noted, works at home as a dressmaker. Again, in the case of the real-estate agents, one wife is a school-teacher, and one a dress-maker at home. The classification "aluminum worker" is vague, but in this case, as in others where the term "worker" is appended, the information indicated only that the father of the child who gave the information worked in the type of plant indicated, and there was no knowing how skilled or unskilled his work might actually be. However, the unskilled trades are well represented, such as pool-room worker, or delivery man, or white-washer, or houseman, and the like. At this end of the scale, Table IV is more significant than Table V, if only because of the larger number of cases represented.

Let us return, then, to our assumption of a general pattern of our culture regarding the status of husbands and wives—and it may be remarked that the number of children to a family has apparently nothing to do with this grouping—that the husbands earn the living while the wives remain at home. We find here what might be expected—that is, in this group of Negro families which are near the poverty line, the wives of those men whose occupations are the better paid

and the steadier do not work outside the homes, and it is the others who do. Again, since this may safely be assumed to be the pattern for our entire society, we have here also data which go to show that the Negro responds to the pattern for the larger society of which he forms a part. And it is most desirable that studies such as this may be made, with larger amounts of data, and in differing groups. Thus, the value of such studies for a consideration of the problem of the home, the extent to which it is being influenced by women working or not, and perhaps even the way in which the pattern works, is obvious.

The use of the concept of cultural pattern as a sociological method, then, is one from which fruitful results may be expected. What are the patterns of our society, exactly? The field for research here is enormous. How do they work? To what extent do they affect our lives? How should policy be shaped in the light of our knowledge of them? All these are questions in which the sociologist is vitally interested, and a greater understanding of which will be his reward for this type of investigation. Thus, the problem of Americanization is a pressing one. Yet one needs only to take up most texts, or other works dealing with it, to realize how befogged the vision of most students who are interested in it can become. It is a problem, essentially, and perhaps more dramatically than any other, of the process of acculturation to patterns of social behavior. We do certain things in certain ways: the countries from which the immigrants come do them in different ways. What is the clearest fashion of presenting this change to him? Fourth of July orations, and the enforced showing of the flag on legal holidays? One questions whether this gets the best results. Yet we are almost

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totally ignorant of the process of acculturation, and how rapidly it may be expected to take place, and what results it has, both on the individual and the society in which it occurs. It will be through studies made on the basis of the social patterns of the various groups in our society, and of the larger society of which they form part, that we will find out what we should know. The problem of secret organizations of one kind and another, of the rise of fads and fashions, of the

prejudices and favorable attitudes we hold, can all be studied by this method. Studies of this sort should be attempted, for sociologists must realize that only through the objective scrutiny of the facts as they come from careful research into definite problems, plus the realization of the workings of culture through its historical background into the forms and patterns it takes, will a fuller understanding of social processes and forces be made possible.

## THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY. I

FREDERICK G. DETWEILER

THIS is a confession and a catharsis—an attempt to get rid of a fear by expressing it. What am I afraid of?

The writer has taught sociology for eight years, this period of time being divided among three institutions. Before beginning he made a study of the texts then existing. Meanwhile other texts have appeared, recently in accelerating tempo. Many of these are intended as introductions to the subject—first steps for little feet into a field where still abide thorns, nettles, swamps, hard-trodden paths, wide acres of grain, vast expanses of fallow ground, and a forest full of wild goblins and leaping fauns.

The writer is worried into a complex over the differences in the various tables of contents. What is sociology in one publishing house is not known in another. The author often comes to his own and his own receive him not. Perhaps our complex can be resolved if the patient is shown that there is really more unanimity than formerly existed. The voices have become a sort of ten-part chorus: it is too soon for the chorus to reduce to unison.

Why worry over textbooks? The text is not the course, is it? Alas! for only too many teachers here and there, appointed to handle classes in sociology and looking about for something to teach, the text may be nine-tenths of the course. Please, dear readers, do not shout, "Well, do you want standardization? Do you want a Procrustean bed for thought, a straight-jacket for genius?" Nay, certes, my masters, there is a middle ground between the two extremes. A little getting-together would not hurt us. Creative thinking need not be solitary.

Let us go further into this fear. What if the course is composed of the text plus  $k$  plus  $x$ , and the  $x$  is preaching? Many of us were preachers before we were teachers. But the danger is one that threatens those also who never stood on the pulpit—those who do not know that they are preaching at the very time they are doing it. What a seductive spot for such temptation is a classroom! It is sheltered from supervision and full of gullible youngsters before whom it is easy to become Sir Oracle. Do not sue the writer for libel; rather than pay damages, he will retract. But such is the fear.

It is true that professors of physics, professors of chemistry, professors of French, professors even of history, point the finger of scorn at us and view us with uplifted eyebrow. We can discount their bill heavily for their own prejudice against the new and their own professional-group egotism. That does not, however, free us from the obligation to show our subject in the best scholastic light, stress its scientific possibilities and scientific methods, refuse to handle unproved generalities, and make the rest of the faculty respect us.

It may be necessary for a course in "Principles of Sociology" to share its borderlands with geography, anthropology, psychology, ethics, and economics. It is a real difficulty, however, to find the teacher actually overlapping courses that are offered elsewhere in his institution. The writer doubts whether he should be called on to recount the most popular things—such things as are coming out anyway in American magazines—from such subjects as evolution and heredity, character-psychology, or economic reform. He will agree that a course in "Contemporary Civilization," or "What Every Yale Man Ought to Know," may be very helpful. But he wants the sociologist to talk up his own "line" and teach sociology.

Anthropological material—material, that is, in cultural anthropology—has the advantage of being new, rarely taught in colleges outside of social science departments, and peculiarly apt in the study of social institutions, or as we have sometimes called it, "social evolution." It is also very interesting. A teacher should of course get his anthropology fresh from today's market. And he should not be governed, in selecting course-material, by the sole criterion, "What will be most interesting?" Our courses are generally

held to be interesting, to be sure. But to follow the students' idea of what is interesting may be Lorelei or Will o' the Wisp. Of all related subjects, psychology seems in these days to be the most popular. The difficulty is that psychology itself is now going through the moulting stage and we might possibly insert the wrong feathers into our own plumage.

I confess that when I began to teach sociology I made the course too easy. I have been trying hard ever since to escape that peril. But I have the fear for all of us. Perhaps the text is only a slight volume; yet the author generally expects us to supplement it with abundant library material. This requires conscientious effort on the teacher's part—in assigning readings that are worth while, and devising a fool-proof system for checking up the student on such work. Without such a system one falls back on a book of readings, composed preferably of about nine hundred pages. Such a book will suffice for a three-hour semester course. Readers will however differ greatly as to such particulars. Could we agree on saying that the pupil ought to be held to two hours of work outside the class for every hour spent within it?

On the whole the case for sociology is hopeful. But we may again, as in earlier days, have reached the point where we should confess freely to each other, mingling tears and sweat in group thinking, and at last winning through to a collective absolution.



SOCIAL FORCES is glad to announce that the *Emile Waxweiler Endowment* has been established in order to promote the studies devoted to the various phenomena of social life according to the conception and method of Emile Waxweiler as they have been defined by him in the preface to his "Archives Sociologiques."

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THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE SOUTH<sup>1</sup>

T. J. WOOFER, JR.

IT IS not difficult to see the reason for the South's backwardness in social thinking when the barrenness of social science teaching in Southern colleges is realized. In order that there may be progressive social legislation and social organization, there is a great need for leaders who know society and its principles. These can only be developed in schools where the social sciences are taught.

In the states of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee and Kentucky there are about 60 schools of college grade. The catalogues of these institutions were examined and 38 were eliminated because the catalogue showed that no sociology was taught. The other 22 were visited and first-hand information as to sociology teaching was obtained. Of the 37,000 students in the 60 colleges, only 18,000, or 48 per cent, are in the 22 institutions which offer sociology courses—that is to say, only 48 per cent of the students in the South even have an opportunity to take sociology. Of these 18,000 that have the opportunity, only 1400, or 7.5 per cent, are enrolled each year in elementary sociology courses. In other words, only 3 per cent of all the college students in these states take sociology. Of the 1400 who take the elementary course, about 800 go further and take advanced courses. This limited number is due in part to the fact that sociology is limited to the upper classes and in part to the fact that where only one or two courses are given, it is impossible for students to arrange to major in the subject and they turn to other courses. Another reason for the

small attendance is that some of the teachers are so overloaded that they are forced to limit the number of entrants in the course.

Even a truer index to the interest of our institutions in sociology is found in the amount of teaching time assigned to it. In the 60 colleges, there are 3050 collegiate teachers. The total time given to sociology is equivalent to that of 25 full-time-teachers—that is, less than 1 per cent of the whole time of teachers in these colleges and about 2 per cent of the time in the 22 colleges which offer sociology courses. Only 10 institutions have full-time sociology teachers. In the other places, the work is taught by a professor giving part time to economics or history.

In tracing the reason why sociology has been introduced into these 22 colleges, it seemed to have been the universal experience that it just slipped into the curriculum through the interest of some professor who was brought to teach another subject and who felt the need of a sociology course. It is still in the process of slipping in in 12 of the 22 colleges given. The prejudice against the subject seems to have been allayed completely and the main obstacle to the development of real sociology departments seems to be the lack of money for employing full-time professors. It would, therefore, seem that the first function of an association of social science teachers would be to endeavor to increase the interest in this subject to the point where funds would be available for employing full-time teachers.

The second problem needing immediate attention is that of arriving at some conclusions as to the best kind of an introductory course in sociology. There

<sup>1</sup> This paper is an abstract of a report made at the request of Southern Social Science Teachers.

are two distinct procedures which are now used. One is the inductive course, which is well illustrated by the course given by Professor Bidgood of Alabama, called "American Society." This course starts the pupils in with a view of concrete existing groups and organizations. The other, or deductive approach, is more widely used at present and usually is organized around a comprehensive study of the concepts and processes of sociology given in the first two terms, and a treatment of social problems or the analysis of a specific community given in the third term.

Another problem for the organizer of a department of sociology is the determination of the type of advanced courses which should be offered. There is a great variety of courses found in these 22 institutions. Courses in the family, immigration, races and labor problems seem to be the most

popular but there are at least a dozen other technical sociological courses offered and some institutions attempt courses in social work.

The three major outstanding problems which it would be most profitable to discuss are:

1. The proper combinations of sociology and the other social sciences so that majors in social science may be offered in every Southern institution.

2. Popularization of the teaching of sociology until public opinion reaches the stage where money will be provided for full-time specialists in each of the social sciences just as there are full-time specialists in each of the natural sciences.

3. Types of courses, both introductory and advanced, which are the most profitable for Southern students, and the best methods of presenting the material in these courses.

## THE CONCEPT "SOCIAL": A CRITICAL NOTE

LESLIE A. WHITE

**A**MONG the tasks of every science are the acquisition and perfection of terminology. Terms are added to the technical vocabularies by coining words or by borrowing them from current, general usage. In the latter case it is often very difficult to prune away from the borrowed word its several non-technical connotations, and as a consequence, considerable confusion arises. Such is the case of the word "social." Sociology has taken this old, time-worn word from common currency and is attempting to make a technical category of it. To succeed in this endeavor, it must distinguish carefully and define precisely what "social" *is* and what it *is not*.

A brief survey of the uses in which the word "social" is employed reveals considerable variety and extensive scope. Its most general use is as an adjective in which it qualifies a *kind* of phenomena. It is used as a verb; there is a process of socialization. It has an ethical connotation; acts are good, or "social" and bad or "anti-social." "Social" is used to describe human beings, ants, cows, and even plants.

With regard to behavior, "social" designates that behavior which is performed by more than one individual, usually a considerable, though indefinite, number of individuals. Thus social behavior is behavior that is conditioned by

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one's fellows. Hence, "social" comes to be equivalent to collective, and hence distinguished from individual, behavior.

Behavior may be viewed from another angle. It may be analyzed into organic factors and superorganic factors. This distinction at once separates human beings from infra-human types, since man is the sole possessor of a culture. The behavior of infra-humans, whether individual or collective, is purely organic or biological. The behavior of human beings comprises both organic (psycho-biological) and superorganic (cultural) factors. Collective, or social, behavior among human beings may be due to organic (psycho-biological) factors, the superorganic (cultural) factor being eliminated as a constant, as, for example, a panic. This form of collective behavior would be, we assume, the same under any culture, whether Chinese or French, and would be equivalent to a stampede among animals on a purely organic basis. Or, collective (social) behavior among human beings may be due to the superorganic factors, the psycho-biological, or organic, factor being a constant, such as, for example, the ways of receiving a guest, worshipping, punishing an offender, etc. In practically every instance a human conduct, to be sure, both factors, organic and superorganic, are present and operative, but they may, and often must, be separated by analysis. For the most part, however, it is the superorganic which gives *form* and *content* to collective human behavior. So that whereas collective, or social, behavior among the infra-human species is always organic, or biological, among human beings collective (social) behavior is almost always superorganic or cultural. The word "social," therefore, implies an analogy between collective behavior among animals and collective behavior among human beings which is fallacious because of this fundamental

difference. A useful terminology must avoid this confusion.

"From the point of view of the psychology of behavior, all psychology is either biological or social psychology. . . ."<sup>1</sup> Thus Dewey identifies "social" with cultural, or superorganic, as we have used it. It is true that among human beings all psychology (behavior) is either biological or social (cultural). But among the infra-human species all psychology (or behavior) is always biological, individual and collective. On the other hand it must be noted that among human beings that all cultural (or social, as Dewey has it) psychology (or behavior) is not collective. Thus an individual may salute a flag or pray before an icon. This is not biological but cultural. Moreover, it is not collective but an individual performance.

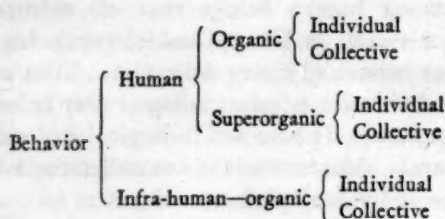
The difficulties, then, of using the word "social" as a technical term in sociology or social psychology are as follows: (1) If "social" be equivalent to collective, it does not distinguish between the organic (psycho-biological) factors and the superorganic (cultural) factors in human behavior. Furthermore, (2) it involves an analogy between herds, flocks, etc., and human aggregations, which is fallacious because they are due to two intrinsically different kinds of factors (except in the cases of purely biological collective human behavior, which are very rare indeed). (3) If "social" be equivalent to cultural, according to the distinction made by Dewey, in dealing with human beings, then the distinction between individual and collective is lost, for cultural behavior may be either.

To summarize briefly, the categories under which behavior may be classified, from the point of view of the *social* sciences, are somewhat as follows: Human

<sup>1</sup> Dewey, "Need for Social Psychology," *Psychological Review*, vol. xxiv, p. 277.



and Infra-human; Organic and Super-organic; and Individual and Collective. Infra-human behavior may be either individual or collective, but it is always organic. Human behavior may be either individual or collective, organic or super-organic. So that the following combinations of categories are possible: Infra-human-individual-organic, infra-human-collective-organic, human-individual-organic, human-individual-superorganic, human-collective-organic, and human-collective-superorganic. This may be arranged diagrammatically.



These categories, it must be remembered, are logical devices, tools of analysis.

## FIVE YEARS OF PH.D. RESEARCH IN ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY

F. W. HOFFER

THIS is a preliminary statement of a projected analysis of the subjects of doctoral dissertations in the social sciences in American universities. A more detailed statement will follow. The inquiry into these subjects will help determine something of the character of such work. What problems are uppermost in the minds of university faculties in the social sciences? What problems are clamoring for attention? Are there fields of investigation that are being neglected? Will a classification of the subjects being investigated be of assistance to the research foundations and university departments?

They are designed to make distinctions. Their value depends solely upon the facility with which they may be used and upon the results achieved. It is hoped, however, that they will assist in supplying some of the precision of terminology which the category "social" lacks, and will not be found too cumbersome for general sociological usage.

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SOCIAL FORCES has received the April number of the *Chinese Journal of Sociology*, the official publication of the Chinese Sociological Society, in which are found several articles of original research. This pioneer promoter of Chinese social science will be welcomed with its anticipated broad and constructive program.

The appearance of the first number of *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, edited by Dr. Richard Thurnwald, Leipzig, Germany, is another evidence, along with the establishment of several chairs of sociology in German universities, of the after war renaissance of the social sciences now taking place in Germany.

The method of procedure in the study contemplated is to check over the list of Ph.D. theses subjects as published by the Library of Congress, *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Economic Review*, Carnegie Institute, Bureau of Educational Research of the University of Illinois, and other sources for the five year period, 1920-1924. In order to make such a study it was necessary to use composite terms under which all theses subjects in the social sciences might be classified. While economics has a detailed classification, sociology has none. Possibly no classification will meet the requirement of each separate division of the social sciences or

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any men within the same department. However, we believe that the classification here used, that used at the University of North Carolina in tentative outlines, is at least suggestive of a possible synthesis in social science, and well serves the purpose of our study.

Two major classifications were used and these subdivided as exhibited in Class A and Class B. It is quite evident from a glance at the tables in Class A that the number of doctoral dissertations is increasing each year, there being a gain of 35 in sociology and 113 in economics for the year 1924 as over against 1920. In sociology 31.1 per cent of the theses were classed

cal while economics lists 9.4 per cent. Evidently, sociology as yet has done little in the analysis of historical data for sociological purposes. Then, too, sociology is too new to have much history.

Comparatively few theses consider the family—9.5 per cent in sociology and 5.2 per cent in economics. Is the family the social unit of society? In the economic process is the family not considered? Are sociologists vocal about the family, yet give it scarcely any study? One would expect economics to give little attention to education. It has 3.2 per cent. Sociology shows a little more interest with 4.5 per

TABLE I

	SOCIOLOGY (CLASS A)							ECONOMICS (CLASS A)						
	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	Total	Per cent	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	Total	Per cent
1. General theory, social process, methodology.	33	25	33	26	32	149	31.1	50	58	50	46	51	255	17.9
2. Problems, reforms, teleology.....	40	43	94	60	72	309	64.5	171	159	199	208	294	1,031	72.7
3. Historical.....	3	4	4	3	7	21	4.4	34	17	29	30	23	133	9.4
Total.....	76	27	131	89	111	479	100.0	255	234	278	284	368	1,419	100.0

as within the range of theory, social process and methodology, while only 17.9 per cent in economics came within this classification. This may mean that sociology is still largely in the philosophic stage. It may indicate that economics is lacking in theory and needs to place more emphasis upon it. There may be a chance that it indicates that sociology is placing more emphasis upon method and technique in preparation for a more scientific analysis of its fields.

Both economics and sociology seem to be in the problem stage since 64.5 per cent of the theses in the former and 72.7 per cent in the latter are devoted to problems. Of the total number of theses sociology classifies 4.4 per cent as histori-

cal. Apparently religion holds little interest for economists since only 2.1 per cent of the theses touch that field. Sociology does better, registering 9.9 per cent. On industry sociology has 11.3 per cent and economics 26.8 per cent. This difference we would expect. Government and politics claim almost an equal number in sociology and economics—6.6 per cent and 7.6 per cent respectively. Considerable variation exists on the community, there being 25.5 per cent for sociology and 30.6 per cent for economics. The difference in geographical and environmental factors is negligible, sociology having 1 per cent and economics 0.9 per cent. On personality and leadership sociology has 16.5 per cent and economics,

4.3 per cent. On race and cultural groups there is quite a difference, 20 per cent for sociology and 16 per cent for economics. Cycles and crises show some variation, there being 1.2 per cent for sociology and 3.3 per cent for economics.

The foregoing analysis suggests the following problems and conclusions:

1. Sociology and economics are in the problem stage, 64.5 per cent of all theses in sociology and 72.7 per cent in economics

3. The community is receiving a great deal of study. From the evidence at hand much more attention will be necessary before something tangible about the community and its relationships can be formulated.

4. The geographic and environmental studies are few. Either "pay dirt" has been exhausted or the field is unfertile. We are inclined to believe that a rich field is being neglected. What physical en-

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TABLE II

	SOCIOLOGY (CLASS B)							ECONOMICS (CLASS B)						
	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	Total	Per cent	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	Total	Per cent
1. The family, home and genetic relationships.....	10	8	15	5	9	47	9.5	11	6	15	16	7	55	3.1
2. Education, school and social direction.....	4	4	7	3	4	22	4.5	8	9	6	6	5	34	3.1
3. Religion, church and conflict of ideals.....	5	6	16	13	9	49	9.9	6	4	5	4	3	22	2.1
4. Industry, work, economic and social-industrial relationships.....	11	3	10	9	23	56	11.3	69	39	49	45	84	286	26.8
5. Government, politics, citizenship.....	5	5	12	4	7	33	6.6	20	7	20	11	23	81	7.6
6. Community, the association process, territorial groups.....	22	14	32	25	32	125	25.5	69	57	59	79	63	327	30.6
7. Geographic and physical environmental factors.....	1	1	1	1	1	5	1.0	3	3	2	2	0	10	0.9
8. Personality, leadership, and creative effort..	9	7	13	11	12	52	10.5	7	7	9	10	13	46	4.3
9. Race, cultural groups, and social differentiation.....	20	13	26	22	18	99	20.0	59	37	22	21	32	171	16.0
10. Cycles, crises, incidence, causal groups, mass influence, war.....	1	1	2	0	1	6	1.2	6	5	8	7	9	35	3.3
Total.....	89	62	134	93	116	494	100.0	258	174	195	201	239	1,067	100.0

being devoted to problems. A glance at text books in sociology reveals the fact that most of them deal primarily with problems. The sociology found in them is incidental. This is perhaps the reason for the emphasis upon problem theses.

2. The family seems to have surrendered its place to other agencies judged by the lack of studies directed toward the family. We may have exhausted the possibilities of the family as a research project.

Environmental factors are back of the larger number of preachers, business men and teachers coming from the country? Are Southerners less energetic than Northerners? Is it due to environment?

These are but two of the many interesting and profitable studies waiting to be done.

5. The study of leadership and personality is neglected. Leadership, better leadership, clangs from street corner, pulpit, bar, and lecture platform. What is the function of leadership in the social

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process and the economic struggle? What is the technique of leadership? Do economic processes have anything to do in fashioning a leader? Why is one man a leader and another not?

6. In both economics and sociology cycles and crises have received comparatively little attention. Here seems to be a rich field. Where has the effect of crises upon the individual, the group, the com-

munity, the state, the nation been adequately treated? Who has analyzed the casualty of life and the significance of the casual group?

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Among the newer forces to which SOCIAL FORCES will be going is the *Amerika Institut*, an official organization founded for the purpose of furthering cultural relations between the United States and Germany, and operating under supervision by the Prussian Ministry of Education.

## GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

Despite the increasing number of students registered in sociology courses, the subject is still excluded from some of the older universities and no first-rate graduate department now exists. This rather depressing state of "American Sociology in 1925," declares Harry Elmer Barnes in the August *American Mercury*, is due partly to the opposition of the other social sciences but chiefly to dogmatism, intolerance, and jealousy among sociologists themselves. Professor Barnes indicates various recent developments in historical, biological, and psychological sociology, human geography, the history of culture, social economics, and the quantitative method. He also reviews briefly the leading departments of the country with their personnel, and the three periodicals devoted specifically to sociology. We blush to intimate the tenor of his remarks against this struggling journal.

*Ministers' Sons* are proverbially grandchildren of the devil. Yet they appear in *Who's Who* more than twice as often, in proportion to their parents' number, than the sons of other professional men. Galton justified their reputation by suggesting that clergymen,

often of the type exemplified by St. Paul and St. Augustine who are not naturally "good" but have withstood strong evil propensities, may easily have sons who inherit the original nature without the moral strength of their fathers. The Mendelian formulas bear out this view. On the other hand, their achievements may be explained partly by the fact that there are more of them per parent, but chiefly because ministers are apt to marry women of the highest character and breeding and so give their children mothers of uncommon quality. Thus, according to Edwin T. Brewster in the July *South Atlantic Quarterly*, the laws of natural inheritance and selective mating are sufficient to account for this curious anomaly.

Is it true that genius will always make its own way in the world, smashing through barriers of custom, indifference, and sex? Or does it need favoring conditions under which to flower, some sympathy and approval from its age? Alice Beal Parsons, pondering "Sex and Genius" in the July *Yale Review*, observes that great artists always appear in groups, and express themselves through some form that is acceptable to their generation. As

for women, mere convention,—notable in the case of actresses before the seventeenth century,—the notion of inferiority, a demoralizing aimlessness of life, unhealthful habits, and even dress have conspired to repress or corrupt their native talents. Where these disabilities are lifted women have soon taken high places in the arts. We may find some day that sex has nothing whatever to do with the individual's ability to create the universal out of the personal.

The continuity of animal life from protozoa to *homo sapiens* is almost universally accepted among scientists. But most of them make a sharp distinction between man and lower species in those patterns of behavior, socially acquired and transmitted, that we call culture. Asking in the May *American Journal of Sociology* "Have Subhuman Animals Culture?" Hornell Hart and Adele Pantzer reply by instancing, in the case of monkeys and birds, the instruction of the young by their parents and the imitation of one another and of human beings that indicate a genuine though rudimentary cultural life. In this respect as in many others there is no sharp break in the stream of evolution at man.

A remarkable instance of social, if not cultural, life in animals is found among the termites or white ants. No less than a hundred million years before man appeared on the earth, says Lemmie R. Cleveland in the July *Forum*, they had evolved a society in many respects superior to our own, which shows today no signs of instability. The problems of a sufficient and easily obtained food supply, of the division of labor and the just distribution of its fruits, and of the control of population growth have been brilliantly solved. This civilization's motive power is of course instinct instead of personality,

and much as we can learn there it points the warning of a socialization in which the individual has become a mere mechanism for the sake of the colony.

There is a fashion among artists to cry down the present trend toward specialization of men and standardization of products. Yet, as Charles Downing Lay asserts in the same issue, these may be the tools that will open new methods of conveying aesthetic emotion. What the machine can do without offense, he says, let it do, so that the higher faculties may be released for far more widespread and lofty expression. And when all men have become specialists in earning their livelihood they will have leisure to become universalists in creating and appreciating art. There will be more art than ever in the future, and it is likely to become a very intimate and inspiring part of our daily lives.

It takes more than a little courage, in these degenerate days, to write a panegyric on "The Moral Value of War." George Wheeler Hinman, Jr. has done this with evident sincerity and gusto in the following article. Nations have prospered, he declares, as they have fought. In the heat of conflict they rise to new spiritual heights. War stimulates inventive genius. The worker at home gets high wages and bonuses with safety; the soldier afield learns discipline, self-sacrifice, and coöperation. The will to win, the strength to endure, the courage to die—these are the traits that mean most of the advancement of mankind. And in time war will bring about that perfect peace in which these qualities are no longer needed!

For an antidote to this view read the equally stirring articles on "Youth and Peace" by George A. Coe and "The

Colleges in the July young men's crusade for valuations conquer their colonies are prepared automatic many signs spirit is rising sweep away. Farge speculation, who of the new concerning thing itself out pacifism high-minded worse than is a standard that as pacifism to the present uncertain as they are during war.

The same carries two attempt to biologists sex. Here longer the genetics have practical and today. He guage as is cies of genetic mechanism sex determine social response in the race to be good and in such mindedness crossing the carelessness

Colleges and War" by Oliver La Farge in the July *Scribner's*. Mr. Coe calls the young men and women to America to a crusade for the revaluing of everyday valuations in every field, which alone can conquer the ancient evil. Outwardly their college days and business training are preparation for a way of life that automatically makes for war, but he sees many signs that beneath the surface a new spirit is rising that in time of crisis may sweep away the old philosophy. Mr. La Farge speaks for the post-bellum generation, who have a very deep and real horror of the next war and are disillusioned concerning the nature and virtue of the thing itself. Some of them are out-and-out pacifists; others, just as sincere and high-minded, who feel that dishonor is worse than fighting, that non-resistance is a standing temptation to others, and that as pacifists they would have no right to the protection of army or navy, are uncertain and divided. But between them they are determined to make an end to war.

The same magazine for July and August carries two articles by E. M. East which attempt to unveil for those who are not biologists the mysteries of heredity and sex. Heredity, says the author, is no longer the master riddle of science, for genetics has become perhaps the most practical and profitable branch of biology today. He describes, in as simple language as is apparently possible, the intricacies of genes, chromosomes, and cell-mechanism, the present knowledge about sex determination and control, and our social responsibility for a better human race in the future. It is more worth while to be good ancestors than to have them, and in such matters as the results of feeble-mindedness, near marriages, and racial crossing the old excuses of ignorance and carelessness are no longer valid.

What, on the broadest lines, is "The Promise of the Age We Live In?" F. S. Marvin in the July *Hibbert Journal* imagines a sage of the ancient world thrust into contemporary life. From the facts of machinery, our endless movement and interchange of goods, and the sprawling millions or ourselves he would conclude, perhaps, that we were devilishly clever, yet ugly in our lives and cities. But the faith in democracy—democracy not less as a form of government than as a personal and social axiom that regards man as an end in himself—he could not but admire, though he saw it realized only in part. According to our educational ideal, each man may become a microcosm of the race, summing up in his own person all its struggles and strength and hopes; and we have learned that continuity, not solidarity, must henceforth be the great moving force of man's destiny. Here lies the unique value of present-day thought; and through this new-found talent of reading the past into the present and both into the future we can take confidence in our ability to create a more abundant life.

As an informal supplement to Galton's "Hereditary Genius," W. T. J. Gun contributes to the July *Eugenics Review* studies in marked ability that is confined to certain well-known families. Ten genealogical tables accompany the article, four dealing with English connections, three with Scotch, two with American, and one with Irish, and the number of persons listed who appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and *Appleton's Encyclopaedia of American Biography* is indicated. The author concludes that men of distinction in public life, science, literature, and art have sprung from notable families far more often than has been suspected.

Social behavior is determined directly



by the various ways in which human groups are organized. The most primitive type of group is one created by some appetite or instinct; it is usually of brief existence, acts irrationally though harmoniously, is intolerant of divergences, and obeys natural leaders without admitting the idea of leadership. Higher in the scale comes the group based on interest and sentiment, which is a differentiation of some larger social unit, secures permanence by developing institutions, and recognizes a limited right of appeal from its conventions. One of the chief marks of civilization is the emergence of groups founded on ideals, formed by a reconciliation of differences, looking to the future reconciliation of differences, looking to the future rather than the present or past, allowing a great measure of freedom, and choosing its leaders for their character and personality. This keen analysis of the bases of social action is made by F. C. Bartlett in the July *International Journal of Ethics*.

From a study of 330 cases which he reports in *Mental Hygiene* for April, Lawrence Kolb has described some of the "Types and Characteristics of Drug Addicts." They may be classified as those of normal constitution who have become addicted through narcotics given in illness, care-free individuals of unstable personality who are seeking new excitements and sensations, cases with definite neuroses, habitual criminals, and inebriates. Such persons are highly susceptible to addiction because drugs seem to furnish some adjustment of their difficulties. Most addicts are really inebriates, who use narcotics from the same impulse and with the same motive that the chronic drinker takes alcohol.

The New Malthusian Conference held

last spring in New York has at last brought home to this country "The Menace of Overpopulation," declares E. M. East in the June *World's Work*. The optimum population in America is one large enough for national defense and the most efficient production and distribution of goods, and yet small enough to maintain equality of opportunity, universal education, leisure, and recreation spaces, and to encourage preventive medicine in lowering disease and death rates. The author estimates this figure to lie not far from 150 million, which will be reached in three or four decades. Afterwards a period of diminishing returns and lower living standards will set in, unless by intelligent birth control we learn to distribute and limit our numbers for the highest personal and social good.

"The Moral Requirements of Democracy and Freedom" are that we educate all the children of all the people, sterilize the socially unfit, insist on the ethical value of everyday work, hold the doctrine of equality in a very limited sense, abolish secret fraternal orders, and battle against the obscurantists in religion and science. This program involves the understanding of and obedience to three groups of laws—the laws of man's inner nature, his physical environment, and his social environment. We must have faith in life as we have learned it, and not take refuge from the affairs of this world in religion, which leads to moral cowardice and a sort of optimistic fatalism. Thus Heber Senenig in *Education* for June.

Individualism may be defined as the development of personal talents for the benefit both of their possessor and of the community. Social conscience is the sense of obligation to act in and toward a community in a manner that shall promote its

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well-being. One must be carefully distinguished from mere predatory selfishness and the other from class or national pride. During the course of the Industrial Revolution in the last century individualism was brought into disrepute as the social conscience widened, and the three programs of factory legislation, cooperative enterprise, and socialism arose by way of reformation. The first two represent the control of individualism by social conscience—the only policy under which progress can be made—while the third is the straight negation of individualism and will lead to the speedy collapse of the state. This is the thesis of R. M. Montgomery in the *Nineteenth Century* for June.

Those who know Albion W. Small and Franklin H. Giddings only through the printed page should turn to the personal appreciations of them that George E. Vincent and J. P. Lichtenberger have contributed informally to the May-June *Journal of Applied Sociology*.

A study of "The Turnover of Leadership," made by Carl W. Strow in a midwestern community, shows how the pioneer, the speculator, the business enterpriser, and the public and semi-public official have successively directed its growth. As communities become more settled the rate of turnover is likely to slow down, and may need to be stimulated to prevent degeneration. . . . "The Trend of Anthropology" out of the logical but faulty evolutionary scheme of its early days, through the wealth of undigested facts amassed in the observation of primitive peoples, to the scholarly studies and practical applications that are now being made, is indicated briefly by Fay-Cooper Cole.

The psychology of confession is well understood. But it makes a great differ-

ence to whom one unburdens one's soul. Read Bain in the same issue suggests that sociologists follow the lead of the Catholic church in cultivating the impersonal confession, that is, one made to complete or partial strangers, which does not impair self-respect and is often more disinterested than those to which one's friends listen. . . . E. S. Bogardus continues his measurement of "social distances" by analyzing changes in the opinion of 110 subjects regarding persons of various races with whom they had had contact. He finds that feelings of greater or less friendliness toward other racial groups depend largely on personal experiences, and that unfavorable impressions are acquired more easily than favorable ones. . . . The recent work of the International Migration Service, which acts as a world-wide agency of social work in caring for the needs of migrants and helping to adapt them to their new surroundings is described by Jane C. Clark.

How to change the unsocial behavior of the child? It may be attempted by either direct or indirect methods, according to Phyllis Blanchard and R. H. Paynter, Jr. in two careful studies from this and the following issue. The same type of misconduct may spring from varied causes, calling for different handling and individualized treatment. Indirectly, the child's home or school environment may be examined, and his relations with parents, teachers, or companions altered; directly, his own co-operation may be enlisted by rewards, approbation, personal talks, the removal of fears, or an appeal to the imagination. Above all, the adult must enter into the child's ways of thinking. Our methods hitherto have been those of trial and error, and there are some children with whom failure must be confessed. A wiser

generation of parents will go far to solve the whole problem.

"The Concept of Social Attitudes," which are described as the elements of personality, Ellsworth Faris examines in the July-August number. He divides them into hereditary or acquired, conscious or unconscious, group or individual, and latent or kinetic, and treats of their relation to objective phenomena and to wishes. . . . "Child Labor Research" should be clearly distinguished from simple investigation, we are reminded by Raymond G. Fuller. The former should define the disputed terms of child labor, study its connection with physical and mental health, formulate standards for suitable children's and youth's work, and evaluate occupations as to various elements of worth. Eventually child labor will disappear, its place taken by education, in which unselfish guidance and self-direction will play the greatest part.

Those of us who heard Glenn Frank deliver his eloquent address last spring at the University of North Carolina will be especially glad to find it elaborated in the *Century* for July and August as "The Outlook for Western Civilization." Following the materialism of pre-war years that demanded power, profits, and pleasure at any price, the war threw us sharply into a brief period of idealism, now chilled and arrested in turn by a flood of pessimistic thinking and writing that would persuade us the world is in for a long spiritual winter, a new dark age. This literature of despair is inspired by seven distinct fears; namely, the biological fear—deterioration of race; the psychological fear—domination of the individual by the crowd; the political fear, that democracy is a failure; the

economic fear, that machinery has become our master; the administrative fear, that our institutions are too big and complicated to manage; the historical fear, that another cycle of civilization is closing; and the moral fear, that the younger generation is going to the dogs.

To counteract all this we have the beginnings of a literature not of facile optimism but of reasoned hope. Such hope is not to be built on the spirituality that we have supposed to be born of war, nor on our present craze for cheap mysticism, nor on return to a religious faith of blind credulity, nor yet on the assumption of automatic progress. We are the architects of our own future, and the literature of hope is simply the still uncoördinated collection of all the new facts, ideas, idealisms, and spiritual values that have been thrown up as by-products of the sciences, philosophies, and practical adventures of the modern mind. The interpretation of this raw mass is a primary task for the leadership of the next half-century. Some of the problems it faces Mr. Frank examines in the September number.

The amazing revolution that the war brought life in Europe can be nowhere more vividly seen than in the changed status of her social classes. Lothrop Stoddard has in the *Century* for June, July, and August depicted the peasants, the city workers, and the middle classes, past and present. With the outbreak of war the gradual urbanization of the nineteenth century was suddenly reversed; the country could at last assert itself against the city, with the result that great estates are being broken up, cities throughout eastern Europe are declining, and a Green (or Peasants') International of incalculable future power is taking

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shape. For the prosperous though restless proletariat the war, after the first flush of patriotism had passed, brought alternating hardship and wealth, and after the peace a fierce conflict developed between evolutionists and revolutionists, now probably settled in favor of the moderates who wish to stay within the

capitalistic system. But the salaried and professional workers, hardest hit of all, are in some places almost in danger of extinction, though Middle Class Unions in England and Germany, and Fascism in Italy, show that much vitality remains in spite of their diminishing numbers and influence.

## PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### OUR INTELLECTUALLY DISINHERITED

RALPH R. HOLBEN

SINS, broadly speaking, are of two categories—those of commission and those of omission. The former are active and positive; the latter, passive and negative. Under the second must be included indifference to social ills that should challenge earnest attention and active effort. This form of sin seems to present nearly insuperable difficulties in the way of correction. The imagination of the average successful American, engrossed in his own affairs, seems incapable of visualizing the wreckage left in the wake of industrial evolution, of noting unutilized by-products of the Great Society, of salvaging valuable human resources now sacrificed on the altar of machine production. This good American citizen is unwittingly sinning by omission, and, in his preoccupation with his own success, he is blind to the needs and interests of those who can look to him alone for help.

Not without reason does the whole world in times of need and distress look with confidence to this self-same complacent individual. His generosity is pretty well measured by the degree of vividness of his realization of the other fellow's hardship and suffering; the situation need only be "sold" him to guarantee his aid. Witness, for example, America's recent response to such situations as Russia's starving millions and Japan's holocaust.

Even former enemy children have not found America remiss in the face of a plain call of neighborly charity.

But alleviation of distress abroad should not blind America to misery and urgent need within its own borders. In the homeland of the richest nation on earth there are many pitfalls for those who would escape the sins of omission. The economic system under which we are living today has been characterized from the very beginning by extremes of fortune for the people who live in it.<sup>1</sup> Lack of a fair start for those among the materially disinherited means denial of opportunity for many children to secure the education commensurate with potential ability that is often possessed. This situation presents to this affluent nation a great challenge for a constructive program of social amelioration. Without such a program our national slogan, "equality of opportunity," will continue to be cant. Too long has America been allowing the material disinheritance of some of its citizens to be the sign and seal of intellectual disinheritance as well.

<sup>1</sup> One avowed apologist for capitalism, Hartley Withers, admits in his book, *The Case for Capitalism*, that under private ownership of capital a fair start in life for all people is not given, and that if only everyone had this fair start it would be difficult to devise a more stimulating arrangement for human nature with its instincts for acquisition and rivalry.

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In a general way, everyone is aware of the existence of a "submerged tenth" in our population, of homes where there is a constant bitter struggle to eke out a bare existence. What is rarely known or appreciated, however, is the poignant tragedy which generally characterizes the inner, subjective life of parents and of children in this luckless fringe of our industrial society. To imagine that many of them do not yearn and hunger for the satisfactions that attend the acquisition of the higher values of mental nurture in life is a tragic error.

Families dependent on charity are not by any means uniform and unvariegated within the drab confines of their poverty-stricken life. Each one has its own peculiar atmosphere and color. And yet observation discloses the fact that such families fall into two large, widely diverse groups. While all these families have a common history of dependency, nevertheless not all of them are characterized by certain degraded, socially pathological conditions true of others. The writer, in a study of 100 unselected charity families,<sup>2</sup> found that 48 of them fairly reeked with such unwholesome conditions as brutality, drunkenness, crime, immorality, vulgarity, obscenity, venereal disease, filth and overcrowding. These families were differentiated from the 52 poor homes where such untoward conditions did not obtain. The down-drag of poverty and misery common to all poor families—degraded or undegraded—is the soil from which all poor children obtain their nurture, but the utterly dark background of the child of the degraded poor brings to bear upon such a child reared in it additional deleterious influences that inevitably leave their mark upon its life. Verily, "The destruction of the poor is

their poverty." The question arises, therefore, how much of good can come out of so much of spiritless misery and vicious evil? This question presents a matter not only of intense human interest but also of sociological significance as well.

When one pictures in his mind the social environment and general atmosphere surrounding the lives of the poor, one is likely to entertain the only too common but erroneous notion that the average poor parent does not usually have at heart the higher educational interests of his children. It is, admittedly, a natural assumption to make. The facts disclosed in these particular 100 poor families show that the average age of the children upon leaving school was fourteen years and three months. Furthermore, nine out of ten of the children who continued in school after the age of fourteen did so merely in order to meet the requirements of compulsory school attendance laws. The great majority had left in the sixth and seventh grades. And why did they leave school so prematurely? In truth, very nearly all did so at the order of their parents. Superficially, the case against the poor parent, whether degraded or undegraded, seems complete. It would appear to be only too evident that poor folk exploit the earning capacity of their children whenever it is possible. This is only too obviously true. What is not so clear, however, is the reaction of the poor parent to his own deed. Fundamental to this whole matter is the truth that no matter how desirous poor parents may be to obtain for their children the advantages of an education, or how eager their children may be to secure it, for all practical purposes and for the vast majority, continuance in school is simply out of the question. In such homes is revealed a situation where the savage strug-

<sup>2</sup> Ralph P. Holben, *Poverty with Relation to Education*, Philadelphia, 1923.



gle for existence dictates no other choice than a grim determination to capitalize the available human assets of the family.

One would be led to expect that such depressing conditions of poverty and the still more disastrous conditions of degraded poverty would be reflected in totally negative ideas and attitudes of parents toward school and education. The fact is, however, that while these poor parents do believe that school pays they must consent hopelessly to have their children penalized educationally because of their lack of financial means. Most of these parents realize only too well what a handicap a poor education has been in their own lives and nearly all of them want their children to be free from this disability. One hundred of the parents who were poor but not degraded affirmed their strong belief in the value of an education, and even as many as 74 per cent of the degraded poor parents held to the same conviction.

A few statements, typical of the attitude of most poor parents, should be enlightening as well as convincing in respect to this. One illiterate mother of a degraded family said: "School does pay. I am worried that the boys had to stop. I can't write my own name, but I am only so glad there is school for the children. I wish my parents had sent me. I had to work hard all the days of my life. No! I would not have my children not go to school. What would they be without an education? Children should be better than their parents have been." And consider a statement like the following, made by a hardworking, sacrificing, poor mother, and decide whether poor parents who take their children out of school have educational ideals or not: "Education is all a parent can give a child, and had I been able, I would have given them all I possibly could have,

even to college if possible. I wanted to send them through high school and take a commercial course but I couldn't do it after my husband deserted me. School does pay, if you can afford it, even though the child is old enough to work."

It is true, of course, that the hopelessness of their condition at times makes the poor feel dubious about the use of school or anything else. Thus it is that the hard reality of poverty which all such families experience creeps into and qualifies affirmative answers. The logic of a statement such as the following is irrefutable: "Yes, school pays if you can afford it, but if you can't, what are you going to do?" Or consider one like this: "School pays but how eat? I can't afford school. We have lots of children." We see here tales of defeated hopes and desires, undoubtedly one of the tragedies and costs of poverty with relation to education. But what is much worse, as we shall see, is that it may possibly connote that some socially valuable human material is being wasted in some of these families, perhaps irretrievably so.

We have noted that there appears to exist in this stratum of life a small minority of families, all of them degraded as it happened, where no educational ideals whatever seemed to be entertained. Where the conditions of life have too completely clouded and distorted the perspective of parents we are faced with what might be termed "poverty-bred ignorance." A few believe that school does not pay because, as one ex-convict father said, "children only learn to dance and 'shimmy' there." The very fact that only a small minority of ostensibly depraved parents would answer in this wise shows how wholly distraught and un-American this attitude is. One is tempted to ask in this connection whether such parents are to be blamed for this perva-

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sion of viewpoint. Are they not, perhaps, themselves products of the same conditions to which their children are subjected—people who should be understood and helped, if possible, rather than merely condemned. It is not hard to imagine that poverty, in its most squalid and deleterious phases, may produce a poverty of thought, with social and economic consequences which, one can deduce from observed instances, thus resembles an endless chain. Poverty of thought of parents, expressed in terms of perverted negative educational attitudes, eventuates in curtailed education of children. This spells curtailed opportunity which in turn admits only to the ranks of poverty, delinquency and dependency. So in the succeeding generation we reach the point from which we started, only to find material poverty and its concomitant, poverty of thought, continuing their deadly chain of cause and effect, interminably. This assumed law of succession is not inevitable in its workings. The chain can be undoubtedly be broken. The pity is that anyone at all should be foredoomed to its operation.

It has been shown that the education of children of really poor parents, quantitatively considered, is indeed very meagre. The failure of the public high school, the people's college, as a real factor in the education of children from poverty-stricken homes is herein clearly disclosed. This whole matter was epitomized by one father, who may well have been speaking for poor people in general, when he said: "If I could afford it I would send my children to school. The poor pay taxes for the rich to go. It would be nice if all could afford it but I can't make ends meet." Certainly, in so far as this is true, this father's statement may be considered an indictment of our modern social order.

Not all children reared under the stultifying conditions of poverty have either the capacity or the desire to continue their education any more than do all children under the enervating conditions of extreme wealth. It will be granted, however, that potential ability, wherever found, should not be denied training and education commensurate with that ability. The failure to give it is to penalize children most unjustly for circumstances beyond their control, and, incidentally, but most important of all, to rob the social group of a possibly rich contribution which it always needs.

How many children with educational appreciation and undoubted ability may one expect to find, therefore, in poverty-stricken families, where educational opportunities are severely restricted by conditions of life? More than eight out of ten among 193 children, fourteen to twenty-one years of age, interviewed in 100 charity families, believed that it pays to go to school, and 72 per cent of them not only realized the value of school but also were sorry to have to leave school. Such facts would seem to indicate a high general level of educational appreciation on the part of children from poor families despite the prevailing lack of opportunity which prevents them from availing themselves of the benefits that they know inhere in school training. Consider the pathos of such answers: "Oh, indeed it pays to go to school! You get more wages and if you have no education you must take what comes and work like a fool every day. My brother urges me to go to night school but I am too tired to go." Another laconically said: "It means pick and shovel if you know nothing. A man who knows something can get a better job. Now a man like father who doesn't know anything must be a laborer." What one boy said seems

to sum up the difficulty for all of them: "School pays and one should go to school if you have the money. But if your parents need the help, it is in place to work." No answer could better voice the actual situation for these children with regard to school and education.

Yet despite their theoretical appreciation of the value of an education, two-thirds of these children of poor folk had lost real interest in further educational preparation for life. It is really surprising, however, that any at all had left the energy and enthusiasm necessary for desiring further schooling in view of the fact that their social status destined them to premature entrance into a life of struggle and hardship. Any child who refuses to be engulfed by an environment of deprivation (and often degradation as well) and who is able in any degree to break through conditions that never encourage but only retard, proves thereby a certain innate capacity that needs to be recognized and encouraged. The more frequent loss of educational enthusiasm is the cost incident to the necessary process of adjustment to the exactions of a poverty-stricken environment and of contact with the material demands of a work-a-day world. That the children can hardly win unaided in the battle which their desire for self-growth and education must wage with the forces of circumstance seems only too self-evident.

It is not surprising that only one-fourth of the children in these homes demonstrated clearly their potential ability by being able to make normal or better than normal school progress. The retardation disclosed in the school records of children from destitute homes is not so much a question of nature as of nurture. We witness here, for the most part, normal human aptitudes confronted with well-nigh insuperable obstacles to scholastic

achievement. Social investigations have established the significant facts that, due to home conditions, physical defects are from two to three times as frequent among poor children as among well-to-do, and school absence at least twice as prevalent. Serious illness has been found to occur three times as frequently among the poor as among the well-to-do. Persistent illness and physical defect are directly related to an undue amount of absence from school and hence, to failure in school.<sup>3</sup>

To physical handicap and illness must be added the prevalent spiritual palsy that is attached to the social conditions endemic in all poor homes—the disorganization attending fatherlessness and the absence of working mothers, the fearful overcrowding of children and boarders into cheerless rooms, not to forget in addition the contamination, neglect, and brutality of the home that is degraded as well as poor. Picture, if you can, the mal- or undernourished, anemic child of such homes as these, leaving for school in the morning with the empty stomach of a breakfastless day, without adequate shoes and clothing, and then perhaps it will be understood why this child can hardly seem otherwise than mentally slow or indifferent to school work. Besides all this, it was discovered that in 39 per cent of the homes studied by the writer the parents deliberately kept their children home from school at times on some pretext or other connected with the background of the family life. Certainly, this combination of inherent disabilities of poverty operates as a rigorous and unduly severe selective agency. Surely the 25 per cent who made normal or accelerated school

<sup>3</sup> Helen S. Trounstein, "Retardation in Cincinnati Public Elementary Schools" (*Helen S. Trounstein Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 14).

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progress in the face of such drawbacks may be considered, in very truth, "a survival of the fittest" and possessed of more than average innate ability.

That the cards are stacked against the poor child seems pretty obvious from all this. Not only does a condition of life sacrifice him to parental necessity or cupidity but it also robs the school experience, or as much of it as he obtains, of its full possibilities. One more evil arising from the habitat of the poor child needs to be pointed out. Whatever superior native intellectual ability does reside in the children of the poor is in large measure lost. It leads to nothing more than a myopic mediocrity of outlook because of the absence of stimulus in a depressing poverty-stricken environment. This is one of the saddest costs of poverty with relation to education. The aspirations of most poor children are limited to the attainment of the general level reached in their stratum of society. Can there be any doubt that, given a better social environment, much worthier ambitions would be evoked?

All this bespeaks a social loss, a spectacle of rich potential child life withering in the bud due to the aridity of the soil from which its life happened to spring. This veiled, hardly appreciated social loss continues to mount while society seems to be unmindful and neglectful concerning it. But the really challenging social loss inheres in that modicum of genius, that small minority of "mute, inglorious Miltons" that undoubtedly exists unrecognized in this stratum of life. This quintessence of inherent ability is always in danger of succumbing to the vicissitudes of an unprivileged, disinherited position in life, unless a helping hand is extended. To say that genius creates its own opportunity is to theorize rather than to face reality as it is. Con-

sider the case of three exceptionally bright, ambitious youths, discovered in these 100 homes, and speculate with regard to the difference that opportunity given or withheld will make as to the degree of self-realization they will secure or the kind of contributions they will make to the social group.

The first boy was the son of a convict father, an immigrant from Lithuania and a family deserter. The plaintive story was told the writer in a bare, cheerless, carpetless "parlor" by a wraith of a mother, sitting barefooted, who was hopelessly facing a death not far distant due to the terrible inroads of cancer. There were four living children, and the oldest boy, now seventeen years old, was the sole support of the family. Three years previously the police had reported to the Associated Charities that the mother and the children had nothing to eat but dry bread. Stolidly but hopelessly this illiterate mother affirmed her belief in the value of education. The boy, who had been an accelerated pupil in school, was forced to go to work in a cigar factory at the age of fourteen when his father deserted the family. He told how he had run away often to school early in the morning for fear his father would keep him home. His very nature revolted against factory work for his heart had been set on going to high school. Even after three years of the factory—slavery as it seemed to him—he could affirm, with high spirit, his passionate determination to continue his education in case the father were to come home and support the family. His only recreation was the Y. M. C. A.—a fact quite in contrast to the trivialities that passed for recreation among most boys in the group of families. It is true that he did not have a specific ambition. He had, however, a determination "to get along as well as he

could," as he said. This bright, straightforward boy, a product of the lowliest of homes, had intelligence and integrity of character as well. Ambitious, he only needed opportunity to show him the direction in which his talents lay. Can society afford to permit the force of circumstance to circumscribe so narrowly the life of such a boy and to derive no benefit from the possibilities inherent in him? Unless some benefactor comes to his aid society will have only a factory worker's contribution to the social group where it might have benefitted by a career more akin to the boy's possibilities.

The second boy was one of six children of a widowed German-born mother. Since the father's death five years previously the mother was working hard doing washings at home. Later she moved to a small farm with a grown-up son. Here, amidst the penurious surroundings typical of German peasants, the writer found and talked to the small, shy, fourteen-year-old boy. This boy was accelerated one grade in school, was interested in drawing and had had some of his crayon drawings on exhibition at an artist's studio. The older brother merely sneered at the boy's artistic interest, remarking that "You can't earn money in drawing." He also referred deprecatingly to his brother as one who "was only good to go to school." And thus it is that a youth "only good to go to school," must become a farm-hand unless his special aptitude for drawing is given recognition, trained and allowed to come to fruition. The family had been receiving charitable aid for six years and certainly could not afford to give him the opportunity. Some outside agency would have to step in to help him. Should society allow the well-springs of artistic endeavor to be dried up because of the accident of poverty in a

boy's life and, consequently, the lack of educational opportunity?

The case of the third boy takes us into the overcrowded section of an Italian quarter where poverty was a stark reality. Dire, unlovely need confronted one on all sides and here was to be found the most remarkable case of all. The father, a citizen of this country, having nine sons ranging in age from nine months to fourteen years, had been out of work when visited for more than six months. Shoes and clothing were being supplied the children right along. The economic pressure in this family and the continual struggle to keep body and soul together forced the parents to take the fourteen-year-old boy out of school against their own inclination. As the mother said: "I would rather send them to school than to work. They don't earn much anyway." But as in so many families of this sort the pittance earned was absolutely necessary to the family support and children were taken out of school because no agency stood ready to give the family the equivalent of the children's earnings. We witness here, without a doubt, the tragedy of a career of possible brilliance being abruptly brought to a halt. By the time the boy had reached the eighth grade, which he attended but a few days before having to leave school, he had already become accelerated two grades. He was known as an excellent debater. He was such a voracious reader that the parents feared he was reading too many books since he was at it all the time, reading far into the night. And most out of the ordinary was the fact that all this extensive reading was purposeful and correlated with his ambition to become a lawyer. Even as a boy of fourteen he had read all the books on law to be found in the public library. The practise of law was no mere passing fancy but the

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very basic ambition of his life. More than any of the others did he need specialized and extended educational opportunities. Despite sentimental suppositions to the contrary the actual probability is that this boy, unaided, had not the slightest chance in the world to become that for which, to all appearances, he was so eminently fitted.

Our society needs the full contribution of all the talent that can be discovered. No matter in what social class children of talent and special ability may be found, they should all be turned to proper account; none should be wasted. It is not primarily the purpose nor is it within the scope of this article to explain the ways to achieve this desirable end. A few means to this end may be mentioned however. A reorganization of our public school system with a view to effecting a better adjustment to the needs of poor children is desirable and necessary. Vocational training, vocational guidance, psychological clinics and the visiting teacher movement are all helpful as are mothers' pensions and the Children's Scholarship plan. Scholarship funds in this country are privately contributed and privately administered. It would be well for this wealthy nation to begin to emulate the example of Scotland which has for some years been giving scholarships from public funds to keep in school children whose parents are too poor to educate them beyond a certain age. The Stuyvesant Neighborhood House in New York City is one private organization that is trying to discover genius among the children of the East Side tenements. This is a most commendable step in the right direction but, ultimately, it should be the duty of society as a whole, working through the

national government, to seek out all such cases everywhere, subsidize them, and thus eventually enjoy the rich contribution they have to make to our social life. The utilization of such talent would more than pay for itself in the end. The subsidy could be repaid by the individual later on. The individual would secure the inestimable gift of self-realization and society receive the invaluable benefit of an individual capacity, at no great eventual cost to itself. Otherwise such gifts are being wasted on lowly forms of work and expression. It is but plain common sense, in view of these facts, to urge as a practicable next step the passage of the Constitutional Child Labor Amendment through the various state legislatures. Now is the time to strike in the interests of the State's most valuable asset, its child life.

How long can rich, generous America afford to sin by omission in this wise? How long before it decides to make what, in the last analysis, is but a commonsense investment? Ethically considered, the sin is indefensible; economically, it is a form of blundering, extravagant wastefulness. When ethical and economical considerations thus reinforce each other, successful America can no longer afford to ignore a plain duty in the face of plain facts.

### ¶

The Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Playground and Recreation Association of America will be held this year at Asheville, North Carolina, October 5th to 10th.

A conference on parents and children will be held at Hotel Waldorf, New York City, October 16-18, under the auspices of the Child Study Association of America, Inc., formerly the Federation of Child Study.



## CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS: PRINCIPLES

R. R. REEDER

A CHILDREN'S institution is not a home nor is the institution a basic unit of human society. It is the right of every child to live in and be reared in a family home. The family home is the basic unit of society. It antedates both church and state and is fundamental to their welfare.

Since institutions are often necessary, they should always be regarded as substitutes only for the real home and environment of the child. As such a substitute the institution should therefore be modeled as nearly as possible in every respect upon the family unit. Every possible effort should be made to conserve the various relations and qualities which characterize the happy family home. Thus little children yearn for kinship relations. They shrink from isolation; they desire the expression of affection, of kinship interests, etc. They should be kept in close touch with their kindred by letters, visits and Christmas presents and every other reasonable device that may be used for promoting close kinship relations.

In its mode of housing, organization of household duties and responsibilities, dining room service, sleeping quarters, etc., the institution should conform as nearly as possible to that of the family unit. In other words, when the institution administration is moving in the direction of the family home in all its aspects, we know it is on the right track; when it is going in any other direction we know it is the wrong course.

The fundamental principles upon which an institution should be administered may be summed up under five heads:

First, *love*: Every effort should be made to develop the affections of the child, for

his kindred first, and for the environment in which he lives, for his fellows, for the true and the beautiful, and for God. In many institutions the child heart literally starves because there is no effort made to stimulate his affections and no objects set up toward which these may be directed.

Second, *law*: A little child very early learns that there is a law in the things about him which may be called natural law; that this material world has a way of its own to which he must conform or suffer; that he cannot trifle with natural law; that fire will burn, a pin will prick, stones will bruise, a sharp edge will cut, etc.; and that these reactions on the part of his material environment are universal and absolutely unvarying. He, therefore, very early learns to respect them.

Just as soon as he begins to learn these lessons he should also begin to learn that there is a moral world which has its own laws that must be obeyed and that taking liberties with the moral law or that trifling with authority is serious and may bring him pain or discomfort just as neglect to observe the natural law will do. Obedience is therefore basic, and the child must learn to obey while he is still quite young. America is suffering today from a riot of disrespect and disobedience to moral law due to a failure to train children to respect law while they are young. The discipline of obedience to moral law in the little child is just as important as the culture of love and they go hand in hand. Love should function helpfully in tempering the application of moral law to the weakness and inexperience of the young child. It would not do to apply moral law to the young child as inexorably or rigidly as Nature executes her laws, but

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nevertheless, to fail to inculcate a deep respect in the child for moral law is to fail in one's training him.

Third, *play*: Play is just as important in the program of child training as is work, and it should not be left to mere haphazard means and methods. Adequate provision should be made for it. The child should develop through exercise plays, imaginative plays, and game plays. Each one has its period. To fail to provide opportunity for imaginative plays during that period in the life of the child is to clip the wings of his young life so that he will never enjoy the realm of imagination as he otherwise would. Children should have space and material for playhouses and every encouragement to exercise their imagination and ingenuity in making them as real as possible. In exercise plays every child should learn to skate, swim, run and jump, swing, climb trees, etc. And in game plays apparatus should be provided so that the social qualities of the child, loyalty to the group and team work, may be encouraged and developed.

Fourth, *work*: Without going into extended details, it is quite as important that a complete work program be provided for the child as it is that he should enjoy a play program. Even little children in their homes should early learn to render some helpful service. In fact, the child's love for his parents or his home depends very largely on what he does for them. The child that is brought up without any feeling of obligation in the way of service to his parents or his home will think less of both than the child who is taught to serve. Love is not developed so much by what is done for us as by what we do for others. Work brings also a sense of responsibility. It is practically impossible to develop character without it. The boy or girl at twelve or fifteen years of

age who has never done any responsible work is not likely to possess any great strength of character. While there may be nothing ethical per se in work, it furnishes the soil in which moral ideas germinate and grow. In other words, you absolutely can not make men and women without it.

Fifth, *education*: By this we mean here chiefly academic training. Full school privilege should be granted to every child. The institution furnishes an opportunity for expert work along this line. Since it has entire control of the child and his time, children in the institutional school should advance considerably faster than those in the public school, for they are not subject to all the various irregularities which children in family homes often are permitted. The institution school should, therefore, be the very best school in the community, and the children should grade above those in the public school. If, however, they attend the public school, then because of the expert supervision which may be given them in the institution, they should grade above other children who come from private homes. Moreover, no limit should be set to the education of institution children. The lid should be off the top for educational opportunity and each one should be encouraged to go as far as his interest and ambition will lead him. Both high school and college should be open to these dependent boys and girls. If we send them out into the world without having provided adequate education for them, we are simply leaving the dependency situation where we found it, that is, their children are likely also to be dependents, and we have a sort of dreary merry-go-round. On the other hand, if we release them into society better prepared than ordinary young people, we thereby help to decrease the amount of dependency.

## A DOUBLE-BARRELLED SOCIAL AGENCY: THE BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

E. S. MARTIN

**T**WO principles are the very foundations of the Boy Scout Movement, two principles which no other social agency has developed more consistently. These are a leadership based on volunteer service, and a coöperation with existing organizations, rather than the establishment of an organization of its own. Scouts are volunteers, every one of them, from the slim boy proudly conscious of his khaki uniform to the alert scoutmaster at the head of his troop. And that troop itself could never exist unless some institution, some community, some group of citizens want it and agree to coöperate with the Boy Scout Movement in making the program available to their boys.

There are over 500,000 Boy Scouts in America. To serve this vast aggregation, a veritable army of leaders is necessary. To attract volunteers; to help them to render effective service; to train them for it; to keep them filled with enthusiasm and zeal for it, are among the most important duties of the scout executive. The scout executives are the paid workers of the Movement. There are at the present writing only about 800 of them. The volunteers number 154,127. To one familiar with the statistics of many social service organizations, their overhead expenses, and highly organized personnel systems, these figures speak with eloquence.

### WHAT SCOUT LEADERS MUST DO

The volunteer is not always a welcome adjunct to the social organization. The volunteer worker, experts assert, is apt to be untrained, over-enthusiastic, unreliable, uncertain. And yet, upon him the whole Scout Movement rests firmly

and squarely. This is in spite of a handicap that many agencies are not required to meet. The majority of those social workers engaged in volunteer service are women who find that their daily occupations do not fill their lives, and who seek further outlet. The scout volunteer worker must be a man, often a busy man, who works hard during the day at his job of earning a living. He is willing to give, however, of his scanty leisure hours to this other job of serving boys. It is one thing to be the kind of volunteer whose service is limited to attending an occasional committee meeting, reading a report or formulating a policy, and another thing to be a scoutmaster, pledging a minimum of five hours every week to the activities of his troop. And yet in spite of this handicap, Scouting takes the volunteer, just the average, untrained, uncertain volunteer that many agencies find to be a spoke in the smoothly running wheels of their machinery, and so imbues him with the spirit of service, and loyalty to principle that the whole edifice is built upon him. These 154,127 volunteer leaders who go into the movement to serve are a tribute to Scouting, even more significant than the 500,000 boys who go into it for fun.

A further survey of volunteer leaders offers some interesting material to the student of sociology. The members of the local council represent each troop in the territory, and the religious, civic, educational and labor interests of the community. There is definite work for each volunteer and the local council represents the best men in the community working shoulder to shoulder in a common cause. The 660 local councils elect one

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member each to the National Council. Certain important phases such as the issuance of charters, commissions, establishment of Scout Requirements, etc., are vested exclusively in the National Council. The local council is responsible for the carrying out of the scout program and the general conduct of scout affairs within its chartered area.

#### WHO THE WORKERS ARE

Then, there are scout commissioners, examiners, court of honor members, instructors in vocational matters and scoutcraft. Their duties vary. An alert scoutmaster and discerning troop committee will make a point of drawing the community as far as possible into the affairs of the troops. The doctors may be interested in teaching first aid; the ex-service man gives instructions in signaling; mechanics, bankers, college professors and experts in every line are called upon for help in the Merit Badge work. The Merit Badge activities cover 70 subjects, from agriculture, plumbing and taxidermy to astronomy, music and public health.

The scoutmaster himself, the man who actually handles the troop goes with the boys on their hikes, and camping trips, shares with them their fun and their work, presents an interesting study. Nearly 50 per cent of them are college men. Thirty per cent of the others have been through high school. We find that nearly 5000 are clergymen and about 12,000 are business men. Over 4000 give their occupation as "mechanic," and some 3000 teachers after a hard day's work continue their service to boyhood in the ranks of Scouting. Other occupations include doctors, engineers, journalists and laborers. Surely an extensive list and a proof of the universality of the appeal of the Scouting program.

The effect upon the boyhood of the

nation of this intimate association with men drawn from almost every walk of life can hardly be estimated. Most boys do not have a chance to come into close contact, outside of their immediate families, with other professions except that of teacher.

#### THEIR AGES

Almost half the scoutmasters are less than twenty-nine years old. That is natural. Scouting is an outdoor game, a game of physical activity and strenuous endeavor that appeals to youth and a high heart. But over 4000 men who have passed their fortieth birthday find the same satisfaction in it, and there are 151 scoutmasters who are more than sixty years of age.

There is something inspiring in these figures and the ideal that lies back of them. They are a tribute of course to Scouting, to the program, to the movement. But more than that they are a tribute to an American manhood that volunteers its services without thought of recompense to the number of 154,127 every year, that gives itself during the first flush of its youth, when life and its opportunities for enjoyment call most alluringly, to serve others.

It may be questioned whether the boyhood of America owes most to its leaders, or whether the leaders owe most to the boyhood, that offers them this enormous challenge to service.

Into its ranks Scouting takes him, the average untrained volunteer worker. It asks no more of him than a love of boys, a minimum of five hours a week of his time, and a pair of willing hands.

"If he has the real scout spirit" experienced officials declare, "it will be a comparatively simple task to train him for leadership and to teach him scoutcraft." The courses of training by which this

average volunteer is transformed into an experienced scoutmaster are too long for discussion in the limits of this article. They cover points from the theory of Scouting to the tying of a square knot. A certificate is awarded to the candidate who successfully completes the course which entails a minimum of sixteen hours work. Yet over one thousand busy scoutmasters gladly availed themselves of the opportunity last year, gladly gave sixteen hours of extra work in addition to their troop activities, to their social duties, and their business occupations in order to be better equipped to serve the nation's boyhood.

#### WHAT SCOUTING DOES FOR THE LEADER

It is evident that a Movement that can inspire service of this quality must be founded on principles of a very high order; it is evident also that in the day-by-day working out of these principles there must be practical efficiency highly developed. Hardly anyone can come into close coöperation with the Boy Scout Movement without having his life altered by it. Eighty-seven per cent of the replies received to a questionnaire sent to Rhodes Scholars indicated the belief that Scouting is of fundamental value in the training of the boy. Scouting is evidently of no less fundamental value in the training of the man. For it is no casual influence that can make of the average volunteer worker, a questionable asset to many social agencies, a potent force for the betterment of the community.

The second great qualification of the Boy Scout Movement besides its utilization of the volunteer, is that it displaces none of the existing social agencies, but works through them. It supplements the church, the school, the community center; it coöperates with them all, it becomes a part of their own activities.

It accepts the leadership they offer and uses the facilities they make available. It trains their leaders as it trains their boys. Perhaps this may be most readily demonstrated by an illustration.

#### ORGANIZING A TROOP

Suppose that the first church of the town wishes to make the Scout program available to its boys. First a Troop Committee—three male citizens—agree to stand back of the troop and ensure a meeting place for one year. (In this case it is a club room in a church.) The Troop Committee finds a Scoutmaster and an assistant scoutmaster from among their own church workers. It is thus assured that the policy of the troop will be the policy of the church. Local talent, the town doctor, a professor of forestry from the neighboring college, a farmer from the Grange, an art student, and several others are induced to contribute their skill and knowledge in helping make the program attractive to the boys. One of the Troop Committee takes a place on the Local Council and it happens that he is the delegate chosen from the Local Council to represent them in the National Council.

It will readily be seen that the Boy Scout Movement is an ever widening series of circles that starts with the eager, restless boy and spreads, drawing in an ever increasing number of volunteers, till it covers every region in the country.

About 50 per cent of all scout troops are formed under church auspices. The schools contribute 30 per cent. "Community Troops" number over 3000. Other organizations standing sponsor include: Elks, Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions', American Legion, and various associations and industrial plants. These sometimes present something of a problem to the Movement. There is a tendency to do

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<sup>1</sup> Miss W. adult parole published in

too much for the boy in furnishing him with equipment and free treats and easy activities. The emphasis of Scouting is always on self-reliance and boys are encouraged to earn themselves the money for their uniforms as well as their amusements. Organized labor keeps a watchful eye on all activities promoted by industrial plants and it is quick to resent any touch of paternalism. It must be noted however that after a complete investigation, the American Federation of Labor has endorsed the Boy Scout Movement.

#### ECONOMICAL ADMINISTRATION

Another interesting feature of this social agency is the low overhead expense which it is possible to maintain because of its working through existing organizations. Scouting requires no extensive equipment and no building. The troop meeting place is usually a room in the parent institution. Many local councils have provided large and well equipped camps for their scouts. But all over the country, winter and summer, troops are rolling up their shelter tents, shouldering their blankets and mess kits, and marching off into the woods for an overnight hike—

scouting was administered last year at a cost to local councils of only \$10.34 per boy!

The Boy Scout Movement exists of course to serve the boy. But when the thoughtful student reviews the work accomplished during its fifteen years of activity, when he notes the various co-operating organizations that have found through it the solution of their own problems, that have been stimulated to a new growth, a new field of usefulness; when he realizes that every year 154,000 men are enabled to serve their communities through Scouting, to find their lives enriched and their horizons broadened by this, perhaps the only type of community activity many of them would ever assume; when one realizes how these men—just average men—untaught and unreliable, become imbued with the fine ideals for which the Movement stands; when he considers these things he will wonder perhaps just who derives the greatest assets from the Boy Scout Movement, the boy or those who serve him.

What it has accomplished for the boy is a triumph for the Boy Scout Movement. What it has accomplished for the man is an achievement.

### ADULT PAROLE<sup>1</sup>

HELEN LELAND WITMER

**A**DULT parole has been in practice in the United States, to a greater or less extent, for fifty years. New York was the first to try it, and now from this same New York goes up the cry against the whole parole system. Fifty years, and the public still wants revenge and punishment in the

treatment of its criminals. It seems high time that we have a little more scientific knowledge about what is going on in our prisons and what happens to our criminals when they go out. Then we can face the public with facts and turn them, perhaps, from the gospel of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

It is just about fifty years, too, since Cesare Lombroso called attention to the need of studying the criminal instead

<sup>1</sup> Miss Witmer has made an important study of adult parole in Wisconsin, parts of which will be published in later issues of *SOCIAL FORCES*.



of the crime. The eighteenth-century philosophy with its emphasis on the equality of man had resulted in the Classical School of criminology. On the theory that all men were free to act as they wished, an elaborate system of definite punishments for definite crimes was built up. Crimes were conceived as offenses against the social contract, and just so much punishment was to be attached to each as would prevent the criminal from repeating his act and would deter others. Since each person was moved equally to commit crime, a scale of crimes and punishments could be made out which would influence each person equally. The doctrine of the Classicists is summed up in this quotation from their founder, Beccaria:

In order that every punishment should not be an act of violence exercised by a single person or several persons against a citizen, it should be essentially public, prompt, necessary, proportioned to the crime, dictated by the laws, and the least rigorous possible in the given circumstances.<sup>2</sup>

It should not be concluded, however, that the Classical School was a step backward. It followed upon a period of judicial oppression when neither the criminal nor the crime was given much consideration, and was really a humane movement. Still, based as it was on the theory of a free will, the Classical School could develop no scientific method, for free wills do not lend themselves to scientific classification. The development of the biological sciences emphasized the value of the inductive method of study, and the Positive School rose from the efforts of Lombroso, Ferri, Garafalo, and others to discover the causes of crime. Although many of their conclusions are

no longer accepted, their fundamental thesis stands intact. Crimes are the acts of men. Men differ in their physical, psychological, and social backgrounds; they are not equal. Therefore it is the criminal, and not the crime, that deserves study, and it is the criminal that must be treated if we are to rid society of crime.

Yet in spite of fifty years of Positive-School teaching and fifty years of experimentation in a system that the Positive philosophy would commend, the public demands more punishment, and the courts and the legislatures continue to favor Classical and pre-classical doctrines. We can no longer hope to convince them with theories. The social sciences throughout are in need of facts, and this study is undertaken with the hope of supplying a few facts as to the results of one way of treating the criminal.

The earliest attempts at a parole system, originating in Australia about 1840, antedated by twenty years the founding of the Positive School, but it showed that penal policy was moving even then away from the rigid ideas of the Classicists. The first system, in which a kind of parole was the final step in a graded system of punishments, replaced the "assigning" of convicts for the whole length of their sentence, regardless of conduct, to settlers who could use their labor. Maconochie believed fully in the reformability of some criminals, an idea which is antagonistic to that of the Classicists, for if all are equal, one will be reformed as soon as the next. Professor Mittermaier showed more clearly the trend away from this philosophy when he said before the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science in 1862 that

the judge may err in adjudging the penalty, and in allowing a certain discretionary power, depending

<sup>2</sup> Beccaria, Cesare, *Crimes and Punishments*, 1764, chapter 47.

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<sup>3</sup> Mitterma

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on the conduct of the convict, we have one of the best means of ensuring a just degree of punishment.<sup>3</sup>

Still this is far from the Positive idea of disregarding punishment.

Parole, then, in its origin, while in effect a turning away from the strictest ideas of the Classicists, was actually motivated more by a concern for society than for the criminal. In the United States the contrary was true. Parole here was associated with the reformatories and formed part of their program for reforming the criminal. It had been first used with juveniles; then it was extended to a selected group of young men of a theoretically reformable age and was finally used in the penitentiaries for even life prisoners, the converse of the development in England, where the first trial was made with the hardened convicts of Norfolk Island and the final extension was to juveniles. The fact that parole is now granted in some states to any criminal, other than a life-terminer, at the end of a year if he fulfills certain conditions of conduct and seems capable of leading a normal life in society shows how far the Positive idea has been carried out, in this one line at least, in the United States—and the reservation show in what degree it has failed to convert completely the American legislatures.

The opposition to parole, then, would seem to come from one of two sources. It might come from the group of people who are still unconverted to the Positive theory of criminology, that large group of the general public which still clings to the belief that the best way of preventing crime is to inflict severe punishment, and which views parole as another of the practices of weak-spined sentimentalists.

<sup>3</sup> Mittermaier, "Prison Discipline," *Papers and Discussions on Punishment and Reformation*, National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, London, 1862, p. 61.

Or it might come, more justifiably, from a group which sincerely believed that parole was letting a group of criminals into the community not any more reformed than when they left it. Opposition doubtless comes from both groups. With the first it is a matter of education to convince them that criminals merely punished are usually sources of even greater danger to the community than if they had not been committed to prison. With the second it is a matter of amassing facts that will disprove—or prove—their theory.

One enormous difficulty is met at present in proving or disproving anything in criminological theory. Records in the institutions are very inadequate, and there is no certain means of tracing the after-career of the criminal. No real proof of the success of parole can be offered until there is a more adequate means of checking up on criminals who move from one city to another. A central system to which all penal institutions would send the finger-prints of all persons committed to them would be an enormous help. Then we could at least tell how frequently paroled men were recommitted and compare this with the recidivism of those who were not paroled.

The success of a parole system, however, can be judged from another angle. We do not base our estimate of a prison solely on the future careers of the prisoners; if we did we would know no more about it than we do about the success of parole. We can learn something about it by a study of the institution itself and its methods of dealing with its prisoners. In the same way we can discover in a small way whether a parole system is good or bad by observing its workings and its theories.

This we have attempted to do for Wis-

consin. Recognizing clearly that this is far from an exact way to measure success or failure, we put forward this study of the workings of the Wisconsin parole system as a basis for future studies. This is the situation from an institutional point of view; this is an analysis of the figures

of success and failure as the institution sees them.

If this study serves to point out some defects in the present system and to confirm some fundamental principles in parole theory, it will have accomplished its purpose.

## GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

We have been confronted, since the turn of the century, with a new species of business enterprise—the benevolent foundation. Some seventy of these institutions, whose endowments amount to one per cent of the national wealth, have overstepped political, religious, and racial boundaries and made themselves universities of human need that are perhaps more powerful today than any governmental policy or popular movement. "Knights-Errant, Inc.," Robert L. Duffus calls them in four articles from the *Independent* for July 11 and later issues. He outlines the origin and purposes of the great Rockefeller trusts, devoted to education and the physical sciences; the Carnegie Corporation, largely economic and social; the Russell Sage Foundation, with a flair for "uplift;" and the Milbank and Commonwealth Funds, which encourage public health and child welfare. They represent a union of business with science that has its possible dangers in the demand for tangible dividends, in the abuse of power, or in relapse to a rigid paternalism, but their true aim is the inspiring of a genuinely democratic spirit of self-help that will in time render them superfluous.

Sociology and public health work are linked together by the social causes and effects of disease, the social efforts

which bring about prevention and cure, and the necessity for community opinion and technical knowledge in establishing health habits. The preparation for any profession should include a liberal education, prevocational subjects, specific knowledge courses, and actual technical training; and in the case of a sanitarian psychology and certain of the social sciences fall under each of these four heads. These are the "Sociological Prerequisites for a Public Health Curriculum" as Thomas D. Eliot outlines them in the *American Journal of Public Health* for June. He finds that the present status of such studies in the leading universities leaves a good deal of room for the development of public health curricula on the social-economic side.

The high frequency of mental diseases among foreign-born and their children has become a real problem for social agencies. Few workers understand the principles of mental hygiene, or the distinctive character of other peoples, and the usual records, which deal with situations rather than mental processes, do not throw light where it is needed. Mary C. Jarrett in *Mental Hygiene* for April suggests that social workers re-educate themselves through new college courses treating the problems and adaptations of the foreign-

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born, selected home reading, study groups under the guidance of a psychiatrist, and the use and knowledge of adequate social records. A sample form for such a record of an immigrant family is appended.

A suggestive statistical study of "The Finances of New York's Social Work" appears in *Better Times* for June. More than \$70,000,000 was spent during 1923 by 481 agencies, of which hospitals claimed 45 per cent, child welfare 18 per cent, recreation and education 14 per cent, and family welfare 8 per cent, the remainder being classified under six other heads. Forty-five per cent of the money came from earnings, 26 per cent from donations, 15 per cent from public funds, 11 per cent from interest on investments, and 3 per cent from other sources. Hospitals and recreational and educational activities earned considerably more than half their expenditures.

Hull House and the charming, courageous personality of Miss Addams—who takes rank as one of the outstanding humanists of our time—are delightfully recollected from a memory of twenty years by Francis Hackett in the *Survey* for June 1. . . . Our ubiquitous and dreary orphan asylums, declares R. R. Reeder out of a wide American and European experience in the institutional care of children, should go out of business and be replaced by personal care in foster-homes, the asylum plants being retained only for temporary clearing houses and the treatment of defective cases. . . . Miriam Van Waters has analyzed more than two hundred questionnaires given to wards of the Los Angeles Juvenile Court, which show amusingly and often pathetically what the children think of this mysterious institution that stands for them *in loci parentis*.

Petting—that favorite indoor and outdoor sport of flapperdom—has attained the dignity of a national problem to be argued with all due seriousness in the pages of the July 1 number. This diversion, it seems, has invaded with disquieting rapidity our halls of learning, where Eleanor R. Wembridge finds it accepted with some nonchalance, when employed discreetly, as a *sine qua non* of popularity and a recognized aid to courtship. It is to be combatted only by home training in good taste and a sense of restraint from the earliest years. Such training may be supplemented by the installation of deans in high schools and grade schools to regulate conduct, vocational and marital advice to girls, more creative recreation such as dramatics and athletics, and social hygiene programs for parent-teacher associations and normal schools.

The same magazine for July 15 carries W. J. Norton's vigorous statement of why present-day welfare work exists and what it is trying to do. "Social Work in a Competitive World," as he calls it, must guarantee to all inhabitants of this society of group mastery a minimum economic standard, an elemental standard of public health, the preservation of opportunity, and enough leisure for well-being and self-advancement. . . . In a statistical study of violent deaths in Atlanta, Birmingham, Memphis, and New Orleans during 1921 and 1922 J. J. Durrett and W. G. Stromquist have classified by color, age, and sex the victims of street accidents, suicide, and murder, and list the steps taken in each city to reduce such fatalities. . . . "Planning for Play," by Lee F. Hanmer, discusses space requirements for city playgrounds, the maximum percentage of children who may be expected to use them at any one time, and various problems of administration.

Under a council-manager government Knoxville, Tennessee, has in the past year made progress in coördinating her social activities that gives her already a high place among Southern cities. Elizabeth S. Brownlow describes in the *National Municipal Review* for May how reversing the usual procedure, the city's department of public welfare has taken the lead in raising the standards of public and private social work and inspired the agencies already in existence with a new purpose and enthusiasm.

The true relations of public and private social agencies have never been definitely fixed. In the same magazine for August

LeRoy E. Bowman shows the actual division of work between the two fields in New York City, and submits a number of suggestions through which a scientific allocation of functions might be attempted. The public agency alone is unstable and apt to deteriorate, whereas the private agency alone cannot limit its intake or do intensive experimental work. Acting together, private societies should take cases involving personality problems, normal families, and institutional care for children, while the municipality should be called on to exercise social control where needed. The first should test and demonstrate many methods and measures that may later be taken over by public bodies.



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# THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

This department is conducted by THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY CENTER ASSOCIATION, and is edited by Leroy E. Bowman, 303 Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

## SOCIAL WORKERS BROADEN THEIR CONCEPTION OF COMMUNITY

LEROY E. BOWMAN

**S**KEPTICISM grows not only with scientific training but also with multiplication of experiences, and the social workers of the country seem to have grown skeptical with regard to community organization not only because it has been meddling with their profession but also because they have been through many experiences with community organization in the last few years. The National Conference of Social Work at Denver in June revealed their wholesome skeptical attitude. After the session devoted to a description of certain community projects, Rowland Haynes of Cleveland voiced the sentiments of the group when he asked the question—why call it a community organization if its major support is found in charitable contributions and its control rests in the hands of a few experts and monied people who do not live in the community?

From this and other sessions there grew a distinct feeling that service to members of a community is to be distinguished from organization of the members of the community to serve themselves. In a paper written by Professor Walter Burr, read at the last Community Session, organization was divorced from social service and he urged that social workers remain outside the rural community, leaving the residents to take a longer time to reach

perfection, but to get there together and perhaps more satisfactorily. The rural community was spoken of more often than at any previous session of the National Conference, and although certain general principles of organization were referred to as common to the city and country community, Wiley H. Swift and others showed how completely different ought to be the approach to rural problems from the methods of the urban worker.

### MEXICAN MIGRATION THE NEWEST CONCERN

The topic which above all others seemed to arouse intense interest on the part of a large number was that of Mexican migration to the United States and the community problems that are caused by it. Again the division between service to individuals in a group on the one hand, and sympathetic understanding and helpfulness toward the group in working out its own salvation occurred in the discussions. The Simon-pure social workers seemed to think in terms of remedial services for the specific evils they have discovered in the lives of the Mexicans in their communities. They seemed to be abetted in this, at least in thought, by representatives of industries interested in maintaining their supply of cheap labor. One man defended continued exemption



of the Mexican from the immigration quota on the ground that Mexicans came to his community and kept out the negroes. There were others who condemned the Mexican as inferior in every respect.

A bit of observation in Denver and other cities near the meeting place of the Conference revealed that the attitude of the community toward the Mexicans is as unfavorable as has been assumed in the South toward the negroes or in the North toward the Italians, Poles and others. They are not allowed to take part in community projects; one civic association disbarred them from membership and ordered the Sargeant-at-Arms to keep them from public meetings. One children's play was broken up because the "American" parents refused to have their children take part with Mexican children.

#### THE FUTURE

Apparently the social workers in this Division are going to continue their

critical attitude, not only toward the doctrinaire assertions of protagonists of pure democratic neighborhood organization, which they believe has either failed or proved its decided limitations, but likewise this section seemed to be critically skeptical about social service as such. They are questioning the attitude of themselves and other workers and seeking to find a balance between specialized service to communities and stimulation of organization for self-help in communities. They voted to make the membership of the committee that governs the program of the Division as inclusive as possible, bringing into the innermost councils of the group representatives of the widely differing national organizations having interest in community organization, as for example, the National Federation of Settlements and the American City Bureau, one devoted to settlement work and the other devoted to organization of the communities.

### COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

J. B. GWIN

"COMMUNITY relationships" is a subject about which sociologists have theorized a great deal, but our communities in this country are in their infancy and opportunities to observe and record the true inwardness of human relationships have been few. If we could predicate our methods and our programs upon well defined principles of community relationships with more confidence or with any degree of confidence social work and civic enterprise would advance more certainly and more rapidly, especially in the smaller towns and rural territories. Too many of these communities refuse to behave according to accepted principles

of community organization and group behavior. It is not my purpose to attempt to define the principles underlying the development of either Red Cross or any other social work in these smaller communities but simply to narrate and try to offer some explanation as to why some communities relate themselves in a co-operative manner for the common good. The communities I am describing are all found in the Southwest states.

Why do the people of one community live happily together without feuds and destructive factional fights, while others are torn asunder by such dissensions? Why do some communities move along

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from one success to another accomplishing every essential task with apparent ease while in other places where in the main similar conditions appear to prevail fragmentary and detached civic victories are the rule? In a vast number of communities in the Southwest will be found the remains or perhaps only faint traces of civic enterprises and community activities which flourished for a brief period and died for want of continuous leadership. There are political fights, family feuds, and religious dissensions in every town but in some places these have become so deep seated and such a part of the community's life that no enterprise really flourishes, and these communities are in a position where they have no leadership with sufficient ability and confidence to accept continuous responsibility for civic enterprises. In some places the racial and religious animosities stirred up by religious and political strife have been sufficient to cause the complete disintegration of most types of organization and civic enterprises which were dependent to any degree upon the spirit of coöperation and unity of effort. In other communities the conflicts have been equally severe and distrust and suspicion have become a part of the atmosphere which they all breathe, yet in these places coöperative enterprises have continued to function with considerable efficiency. Why and how have the coöperative enterprises and the social work organizations in some places built up an immunity to factional and religious strife while in other places they practically all succumb to these?

It is not difficult to understand why the people in the town of "X" with a population of 2000 located in Kansas have been able to relate themselves in such a way as to successfully receive the continuous leadership and community coöperation

that is so much needed by both commercial and social organizations. The activities undertaken in the town of "X" have been quite consciously selected by the community through its leaders. There is an atmosphere which is noticeable when you step off the train and it is an atmosphere of independent thinking and planning and not blind acceptance of the recommendation of outsiders. The Messiah Chorus from this town is known all over the West and numbers over five hundred and includes in its ranks two generations. The distinctive spirit of harmony in this community and their unity of thought and action is due to the fact that they are a homogeneous population with strong national and cultural traditions. They came as a colony from Sweden and this colony is set down amongst groups of people that have quite different national backgrounds. This colony has community solidarity and common purpose. Their community life really started centuries ago and has merely been transplanted. The town of "Y" in the same state with slightly larger population also has, to a less degree, this community solidarity and especially has developed and retained harmonious relationships. It is distinctly a coöperative community. Community efforts here, according to the history of the town, seem to have been easy and spontaneous from the beginning. The pathways of discharge of common energy have become so well established that the energies of the groups find ready expression. The town was settled by miners who came in part from sections in the Rocky Mountains and in part from the mining districts of Pennsylvania. It is not a homogeneous group and many different races are represented, but they do have a common background which began years before they migrated to this town.

In the town of "Z" in Texas with about 5000 population there is another example of very happy relationships and many successful community enterprises. This town was built out in the cattle country and the early settlers apparently had little in common. They were made up of cattle men, miners, farmers, merchants and health seekers. The people of this small town lived out there by themselves for many years without a railroad and the mail came at infrequent intervals. The struggles to provide a livelihood must have been quite severe. History shows that the people worked together or in groups to build their homes, their schoolhouse, the two churches which they had in the early days, and even their business houses and stores. I am confident that with this there was a very happy and wholesome social life. This small town supports and provides unusual leadership for many kinds of organizations. They have an active Red Cross, Boy Scouts, both with paid workers, a Farm Bureau, Y. M. C. A., Chamber of Commerce, Junior Chamber of Commerce, Farmers Union, Women's Clubs, a Rotary and a Kiwanis Club, Parent-Teacher Association. It is not merely the fact that they have these organizations and a few more and are supporting them adequately, but rather that they have seized upon the programs of these state and national organizations and have made them their own. They have placed the stamp of their own originality upon all their activities, whether they are of local or outside origin. They have teamwork and leadership. There is in this town a sense of ownership and in everything they do it is always with them "our secretary," "our Farm Bureau," "our Chamber of Commerce," and never "The Secretary," "The Nurse," "the Farm Bureau." Visitors to this town readily

get the impression that the pathways of discharge of energy and of interest in civic and community enterprises have not become dammed and diverted from natural channels because of dissension and lack of coöperation. While this is comparatively a new community, it is apparent that proper relationships and group leadership of the right kind has become a habit. Most of the original settlers of the town still live there and are active in the business life. The coming in of new elements may in time destroy the ability of this community to carry on community affairs so happily. It is apparent in this and in many other towns that the habit of carrying on their common affairs through certain channels, under certain group leadership, makes it possible for them to do all things they accept as a responsibility with a great degree of success.

In another town in Texas, about the same size as "Z," the Red Cross was unusually successful and active during the war and the year or two immediately following that period. There was a group of leaders that took charge and assumed responsibility for much of this work. Their interest continued for a time after the war and they undertook some of the later programs such as Nursing and Junior work. The humanitarian spirit and the patriotism of the people in this town, as in many others, found its expression, its pathway of discharge through this group of leaders who represented the best in the community. These leaders, though, began to lose their interest at the end of the war and were tired of their responsibilities by the early part of 1919. They were proud of the success they had had and did not believe that the organization could go on without them; neither were they willing to give further effort in order that the nursing

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work and the other activities might be continued and they were ready to close the chapter. In the meantime numbers of people, including school officials, health workers, members of Women's Clubs, had become interested in the health work of the chapter and wanted it continued. Always, however, their thoughts and their interest in this followed the old channels—they looked to the former leaders and were unable to conceive of anyone else as able to take their places. The former Red Cross leaders effectively dammed up the interest which prevailed so generally. There is a delicate and difficult organization task here of finding new channels and new leadership for this interest without at the same time stirring up the antagonism of the old and faithful leaders. Communities which have these well established channels through which they discharge so effectively and spontaneously their civic interests may become very conservative.

There are communities in which the people relate themselves coöperatively both in internal affairs and with their neighboring towns and the surrounding territory. In many places, though, political fights over county seats and commercial rivalry have made this coöperative effort between rural towns an impossibility. If one town in a county dominates the situation, there is apt to be indifference to the circumstances and the needs of the smaller places in the county. If the towns are of similar importance there is generally intense rivalry. Red Cross work is built upon a county wide organization and while there are many instances of complete success the organization does not often extend out and include much territory beyond the headquarters town. In the county of "M" in Colorado, the Red Cross has a splendid county

wide organization. The officers represent every part of the county and the towns and rural territories accept the work as their very own. Little towns in remote parts of the county speak of it as "our Red Cross." Much of this is due to the fact that chapter officials in the headquarters town desired to make the organization county wide and so they made plans to that end. The reason for their desire to do this is not so easy to define. There is no evidence in the history of the county of destructive family feuds which seem to have formed the basis of so many factional fights in other places. Neither was there a fight over the county seat, nor have there been religious strifes. The communities in the county coöperate in other ways. Their social and commercial affairs are closely related. In "O" County in Kansas, the Red Cross is carrying on county wide service and the organization is built up from leaders in different parts of the county. The workers go out to the remote parts. The same is true of the work of many other organizations in the same county. It is difficult to say why they can do it here and why in other places the towns in one county will have little to do with each other and co-operative effort is impossible. There is a small county in Arkansas where the county seat town has a population of 3300. The county seat is not related to the remainder of the county in either social or commercial enterprises of any sort. The reason for this is readily explained by workers who have been all over the county. The county seat is urban in every sense. There are two universities there. Much of the leadership comes from either active and enterprising business merchants or from members of the college faculties, some of whom have retired and are now active in community affairs. All the other towns and rural

territory in the county are rural in every sense of the word. There is very little in common between people of these towns and the people in the county seat town. County wide organization would be an impossibility here. In the town mentioned in Colorado it is apparent at first glance that over the entire county similar conditions prevail and a common type of population exists. They have much in common. The same is true of the county in Kansas. In working out community organizations whether in small or large cities we must constantly take into consideration the fact that in many of the smaller towns there is a large element of urban minded people and in the larger cities, in certain sections at least, the population may be rural minded.

There are communities which go through the motions of carrying on co-operative efforts with frequent and well attended meetings where the essential civic interprises go by fits and starts in no certain direction. There are true and false community relationships and well attended meetings are no criterion of a community's healthy relationships. There are meetings which should never be held. There are also towns and cities which have other outward indications of effective human relationships in their civic affairs but which in reality are in an unstable and unhealthy condition, and have successful social or civic efforts because of the temporary leadership of a dominating personality. The coöperative communities that I have been speaking of have had group leadership and not individual.

The conditions favorable to a healthy condition of community relationships in the smaller places which I have briefly touched on can be found by studying the history and habits of each community. Teamwork comes from necessity and becomes a habit. Towns function as communities because there is a homogeneous population or large groups with a common background. There must be aggressive group leadership, rather than individual. A happy social and recreational life helps a community to find itself. Communities have difficulty in relating themselves in civic and commercial affairs when there is or has been a history of religious, family or political strife, but if the habit of expressing their common interests through organized channels has been formed such a community may be but little disturbed by internal strife.

Various types of organizations succeed in relating their special program and organization to the habits and inner relationships of these communities or fail to do so according to the fundamental soundness of their methods and the adaptability of their program. Those national and state organizations which do not relate their program to each town and community so that it becomes the community's very own (the possessive instinct is as strong as always) and carries the stamp of the originality of each community are building on the sand and are making no worth while contribution to the inner life of these places. All activities not properly related to a community's life are so much "top dressing."

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## TRENDS IN PUBLIC RECREATION

WEAVER PANGBURN

THE growth of cities having organized recreation from ten to more than seven hundred in the past quarter of a century is not the most significant fact of the public recreation movement. Playgrounds and recreation centers have increased to more than eight thousand with almost 16,000 leaders and they involved an expenditure of over \$20,000,000 by cities last year. Yet, it is the changes in objective, management, program, equipment and geography of recreation systems that have the greater interest to students of social forces.

When Jacob Riis was fighting for a park at Mulberry Bend, pioneer recreation leaders concentrated their energies on securing breathing places and playgrounds for children under conditions free from the evil influences of the street. Reduced delinquency through playgrounds was one of the chief slogans and the work was confined principally to private bodies and to the summer months only. If one surveys recreation in the cities during, say, the last five years, many changes incident to expansion and evolution may be noted.

## TREND IN MANAGEMENT

The majority of recreation programs in the United States and Canada today are under municipal management. Of the programs in 696 cities reporting to the Playground and Recreation Association of America on this subject, 135 are administered by playground and recreation commissions, departments, divisions, boards or bureaus, 122 by boards of education, 93 by park boards, commissions, departments, bureaus or park and recreation commissions, 21 by city councils, and 15 by other municipal departments.

The total under municipal management is 386. Less than half the total, 310, are managed by playground and recreation associations, bureaus, and other privately organized and privately financed agencies. The trend to municipalization of recreation has been stimulated by state legislation authorizing cities, towns, villages, counties and townships to operate recreation systems. Bills to this effect have been passed in Georgia, North Carolina, Indiana, Kentucky, Virginia, Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Louisiana, West Virginia and Vermont. Eleven of these state laws, including Virginia's, North Carolina's and Georgia's, have referendum features.

Within the past two years, twelve cities in Illinois, two in Iowa, and one in New York have established year round municipal recreation under tax support as a result of laws passed in 1923 or later, and many other cities are considering similar action.

Some fundamental reasons for the municipal trend are the relative financial stability of tax funds, the non-controversial nature of recreation, the acceptance by the cities of responsibility for preventing juvenile delinquency and accidents to children at play, and the fact that recreation is a politically popular idea. Of course the broadening scope of positive governmental functions in promoting public welfare must be taken into account.

## PROGRAM EXPANSION

Community recreation has expanded from summer playgrounds to year round activities, from play for just children to recreation for persons of all ages, from



chiefly physical activities to what may be called cultural activities, and from untrained leaders to staffs of highly trained specialists.

Three hundred cities have year round programs under leadership. The games of the summer playgrounds are supplemented by outdoor winter sports, of which 188 cities now boast, and by indoor recreation activities in school and other centers. The activities include basketball, clubs, forums, swimming, dramatics, music, and domestic science. Two hundred nineteen cities report 1389 school buildings used as evening recreation centers.

All ages are served in the modern play program. Athletics for industrial groups were promoted last year in 237 cities, horseshoe tournaments in 262 cities, holiday celebrations in 315, community singing in 259, and football in 98, involving 13,243 players. One hundred cities have municipal golf courses and others are rapidly acquiring them. Detroit has 97 school recreation centers, 95 per cent of which are year round.

There is increased emphasis on naturalness in play activities for children. Even in physical education, natural play, rather than formal gymnastics, is the trend of the day, except for posture drills and corrective exercises.

#### ART AND PLAY

"The neighborhood must be taught again to recognize social life, games and art, music, and drama as part of its natural expression and its life," says Joseph Lee, president of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. Music, drama, handicrafts and art activities are steadily increasing in importance in city play programs.

Four hundred fifty-two cities participated in the first national music week

held last year. In the last ten or twelve years, Christmas caroling has spread to more than twelve cities. In 1924 a music memory contest was held in more than eleven hundred cities, counties, and states. One hundred ninety-one cities reported bands, 144 orchestras, 245 pageants, 276 dramatics, 156 art activities, such as drawing, painting and sculpture, and 192 craftsmanship.

Oxnard Community Service organized an Eisteddfod in 1924 which included contests in art, music and drama. Inspired by its success, all southern California united last spring in a great Eisteddfod. St. Louis is famous for its annual ten weeks of municipal opera which tens of thousands enjoy. Other cities with public opera are Rochester, N. Y., Washington, D. C., Cleveland, Ohio, Johnstown, Pa., Savannah, Ga., Los Angeles and San Diego, California. Long Beach, California, is said to have spent \$128,000 for municipal music in 1924, more than any other city. The band gives two free concerts each day except Monday and one on Sundays.

Under the South Park Commission in Chicago the children made 3000 radio sets, 2500 toys, 1000 whittled objects, and 2114 dolls in the 1924 season. Other articles made include model airplanes, yachts, ice boats, lanterns, and kites. Cincinnati and Elmira have theatres on wheels which go from neighborhood to neighborhood with dramatic and musical entertainment.

#### CHANGES IN LEADERSHIP

The first playground leaders in America were untrained matrons at the sand gardens in Boston in 1885. Today, Houston, Texas, to cite an example of the latest leadership trend, has a staff of specialists in educational dramatics, neighborhood organization, athletics, playground direc-

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tion and community music. Leadership is carried to the people in the neighborhoods where they live. The dramatic service includes a library, costume chest, pageant and festival organization service, storytelling and a drama course for volunteer workers. In addition, each playground and center has its own leaders. Some cities have a colored recreation worker for work in colored sections. The Playground and Recreation Association of America has a special bureau on colored work.

One hundred seven cities had training classes for paid workers and 82 for volunteers in 1924. The enrollment in employed workers classes was 394 and in volunteers 2541. The Playground and Recreation Association has a training school for recreation workers in Chicago. More than six hundred students have taken the course.

In a day when it is often said that the home is a failure, it is natural that the attention of the recreation directors should turn to home play as a means of strengthening home life. It is recognized that home recreation for all members of the family is important, and especially so for the child too young to utilize the public playground. Fort Worth, Texas, and Oakland and Visalia, California, Salt Lake City, Utah, and Henderson, Kentucky, have done much to encourage this work. Some of the cities issue publications giving specifications for home made play apparatus, suggestions for games and other activities, and conduct home play campaigns.

#### NEW EQUIPMENT

Today the equipment includes not simply playgrounds but also swimming pools, bathing beaches, athletic fields, tennis courts, picnic grounds, quoit courts, skating rinks, dancing pavilions, com-

munity houses, summer camp facilities, wading pools, parks, forests, lakes, ponds, gymnasiums, auditoriums, and churches. The policy of the modern recreation department is to use the existing facilities whenever possible and not to tie up capital whenever it can be avoided. The recreation leader takes his service to the buildings that have equipment, like the schools, parks, and clubs, and carries out a good part of his program through these institutions.

#### GEOGRAPHY OF RECREATION

This term is inclusive. It refers here not only to the expansion of municipal recreation beyond the city limits but also to the broad development of recreation in the larger geographical and political areas.

Recreation departments are establishing summer camps, in some cases hundreds of miles away from town. Highland Park, Michigan, has one of its two camps four hundred miles distant. Los Angeles was a pioneer in municipal camp development, and has five camps, three under leadership. One of Oakland's camps, in the heart of the Sierras, was made possible by the coöperation of the federal government in setting aside land for the use of the municipality. This camp operates on a cost basis, the board for adults costing six dollars a week and for children five dollars. Eighty-three cities in the United States report 123 summer camps.

The rapid municipal park development of the last generation is taking on extra urban features. In Dallas, Texas, the park area in the city limits is 673 acres, but there are two suburban areas totalling 3100. Notable park development is to be found in Essex County, New Jersey, Westchester County, New York, Cook County, Illinois, and in a number of Michigan counties. Twenty-five states have state parks and a vigorous movement

is afoot in Texas and elsewhere to increase the number. State and national governments are heartily in favor of recreational use of parks and forests. The Palisades Interstate Park of New York and New Jersey is used by eighty-one educational and industrial organizations. More than 110,000,000 persons visited the 127 national forests in 1923, according to the United States Forest Service.

#### RECREATION IN THE SOUTH

The National Recreation Congress which will be held in Asheville in October goes to the South for the first time in twelve years because of the progress made in community recreation in the South since the great War and also because of the conviction of Southern recreation leaders that the coming of the Congress will still further stimulate recreational development in the South.

While the South as a whole was not the first among the sections of the country in promoting municipal recreation, it has been progressing rapidly in this field in the last five or ten years. In 1924, North Carolina cities spent fifteen times as much for public recreation as in 1919, South Carolina spent five times as much, Virginia four times and Louisiana seven times as much. Employed recreation leaders in the cities of these states have practically doubled, in North Carolina increasing from 27 to 53, in South Carolina

from 14 to 26, in Virginia, 36 to 84, and in Louisiana, from 14 to 29. The increase in play areas and in the number of cities establishing organized recreation is commensurate with other lines of advance. The experience of these states is typical of the South at large.

Fifteen Southern cities have municipal golf courses. Bond issues for recreation purposes were voted in Lake Wales, Fla., Columbus, Ga., Dallas and San Antonio, Texas, last year. Lake Wales, Fla., Albany, Ga., Ashland, Ky., Alexandria, La., Spartanburg, S. C., Dallas and San Antonio, Texas, received donated playgrounds last year.

In summary, it may be said that what a quarter of a century ago was practically a summer playground movement for children is now a broad leisure time movement for year round recreation of both physical and cultural types for persons of all ages and of every social and economic group. Recreation departments seek to give opportunities for a more abundant life and for virile training in citizenship. The future seems to hold in store an extension in municipalization of recreation, a greater emphasis upon cultural activities with, however, no decrease in physical recreation, better training opportunities and a practically unanimous sanction for a rich play life for every individual in the community by every vital institution in American life.

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<sup>1</sup> Cunningham  
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## PLAY IN RURAL LIFE

W. A. ANDERSON

CUNNINGHAM GEIKIE in his Book for Young Men entitled, *Entering on Life*, says, "Life begins, continues, and ends in dreams."<sup>1</sup> One sincerely wishes that it might be as truly said that "Life begins, continues and ends in play." There are many people who have so engrossed themselves in their work, that life becomes all work, and from it there is no relaxation. This is true of rural people, and perhaps more true of them than of any other American group. The very nature of their work has much to do with it. Farming demands early rising, long days of work in the fields, strenuous exercise of the body and a consequent tiring toward evening. This demands an early retirement for rest. Seemingly, all time for play and recreation is gone. Yet there are seasons when the work on the farm is not so exacting, there are days when nature makes it impossible to work, and during these seasons and on these days farm folks should play. But were the work of the farm so exacting that it required this continual use of time and labor, we would be forced to say that, for the welfare of the farmer and society it is essential that the farmer take time for recreation. If periods of relaxation are not provided, a point is inevitably reached where the muscles and the nerves cannot longer withstand the strain, and physical breakdown results. This explains many of the early deaths that occur among farm people, and partially accounts for the high percentage of insanity among them.

## CHILD LIFE BEGINS IN PLAY

It is true that child life begins with play. Play has a foremost place in the plan of

nature for the development of the child. It is characteristic of the child to play, and only abnormal circumstances can stop it. Play develops the mind and body of the child, helps to change native activity to permanent habits and prepares him for future experiences. This desire for play, is meant to work for his greatest good, and will, if human hands do not hinder.

## DOES LIFE CONTINUE IN PLAY?

For how many children upon our American farms does life continue in play? Is it not true that for most farm boys and girls the coming of the teen age means the end of their playtime? It is in those years when they begin to be strong enough physically to help on the farm and for most of them it means the use of all leisure time in work. It seems to be the opinion of many farmers that children do not need to play. Joseph Lee, called the father of the play movement in America, says a thing which is appropriate here:

The thing that most needs to be understood about play is that it is not a luxury, but a necessity; it is not something that the child likes to have; it is something he must have to grow up. It is more than an essential part of his education; it is an essential part of the law of his growth, of the process by which he becomes a man at all.<sup>2</sup>

PLAY NOT CONSIDERED AN ESSENTIAL  
IN ADULT LIFE

Play among country adult folks is almost an unheard of thing. Life is too serious and important for them to waste any of it in play. The effort to solve the economic problem gives no time for recreation. The condition of adult people

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham Geike. *Entering on Life*. James Potts, London, 1892, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> M. T. Scudder. "Rural Recreation a Socializing Factor." *Annals Amer. Acad.*, vol. 40, March, 1912, pp. 185.

who have thus lost the spirit of play is illustrated by the story of an insect which gets its nourishment from the sap of the tree. As it sucks the sap from the limb, it becomes fastened and part by part the insect's wings and legs fall off and it loses all its powers except that of getting nourishment.<sup>3</sup> Many adults absorbed in getting an existence from the soil, lose the yearning for pleasure and life's tragedy reaches its climax, for no tragedy is as great as the tragedy of a life so absorbed in work that it has lost all desire for pleasure.

#### PLAY BUILDS STRONGER BODIES

If life should be marked along the way by play and recreation, what contributions would be made to it?

Play and recreation make important contributions to the individual life. The first of these individual contributions is physical development. Games give opportunity for the use of numerous muscles. The work on the farm develops the muscles of the legs and arms and all the larger muscles, but there are many muscles that are never called into action. Games and sports of various kinds exercise numerous muscles and result in a normal muscular development. There are many who think that rural peoples are as physically fit as they can be and that there is no need for the development that comes through play and recreation. It may be true that they are muscular and well-built, but recent army tests have shown that young men from the country are not as physically fit as city young men. Play and recreation not only calls into play muscles little used, but it also develops strength of lungs and heart, increases circulation, gives agility, and develops all-round physical fitness. These are sorely needed among rural people.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Science*, vol. 35, pp. 325. *Play and Social Progress*, by H. S. Bancker.

#### MENTAL GAINS ARE MADE

There are mental values also that result from play. Play demands the ability to comprehend plans. A baseball nine or basket-ball team plays according to carefully planned methods. In fact any game demands the exercise of the mind in planning the progress desired. It calls forth initiative, demands poise and control, teaches adaptability to circumstances, gives alertness, makes one capable of entering upon new tasks, removes the shyness and over-sensitiveness that characterizes many rural people. These mental results alone would justify the greatest expenditure of time and money to develop recreation and play in the country.

#### MORAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PLAY

Moral and spiritual good follows in the wake of play and recreation, for play protects character. Many people have the idea that if a person is isolated from his fellows, temptations will not confront him and character will be safeguarded. Just the opposite is true. Character is formed, not in isolation, but in the actual stream of life. Temptations go with people everywhere for they arise not outside but inside of man. Isolation is no safeguard from wrong, but an aid to it. All leisure hours used in play with associates are well guarded from wrong, for, as someone has put it, "Play is a diversion of the life force from sordid getting and possessing gratifications to something healthful and humanizing."<sup>4</sup> Good morals are dependent upon a chance to give expression to this primary and irresistible force, for unless it is recognized the moral stamina will give way. F. J. Milnes says that "A boy," and it is also true of girls, "is a boiler of playful energies. Suppress those energies and there

<sup>4</sup> *Church and Young Man's Game*. F. J. Milnes Doran, 1913, pp. 6.

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<sup>1</sup> *Church and*  
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is grave danger of a serious explosion."<sup>5</sup> The proper outlet for such energies is play and recreation that demand physical exertion and self-abandon. Play thus becomes "a moral safety valve," and "the sooner we see that it is a fundamental in rural morals the sooner we will see a cleaner village life."<sup>6</sup>

Play does more for character than safeguard it. Play develops those elements that form good character. Farm life is individualistic since it is isolated. One of the greatest contributions that play makes to character, therefore, is that it develops altruism and unselfishness. One cannot play together with his fellows for any short period of time without learning the value of other people's desires, and acquiring a respect for them. Instead of feeling that all centers in self they soon learn to respect the will and interest of the group, make self-sacrifices for the common end, render service for all, and become devoted to a group aim. Play develops character for it teaches obedience to others, honor and truthfulness, justice and fairness, self-control and respect for the will of others. Such elements are not likely to be developed unless they are developed in youth.

#### PLAY DEVELOPS COMMUNITY SPIRIT

Play makes important contributions to the community life as a whole and so to society in general. The countries of Denmark and Germany are particularly noted for their community pride and co-operation. If one visits the rural sections of these countries he will soon discover the reason for such a spirit. He will see the people of various ages playing games

together that make them happy and content, and give a spirit of unity and solidarity. One reads stories of the good times in New England towns in our early American history. The commons where the people, young and old, met together for fun and frolic were the cause of such happiness. Visit our rural communities today. The spirit of community pride and co-operation and the general feeling of joy and contentment are not there. With the departure of community play from the rural sections there vanished this community co-operation, community pride, and community happiness. Revive play and rural community life will re-awaken, for nothing breaks down barriers of ill-feeling or the lack of initiative as quickly and as surely as does community play. The writer knows of a group of country boys, who, for lack of anything better to do, used to engage pretty freely in fights among themselves. These fights became so frequent and furious that they began to involve the whole community, and ill-feeling covered the entire section. A young man who could play basketball entered the community just at that time as a rural pastor. For his own amusement he visited the High School gymnasium to toss goals. Soon there gathered about him a group of these boys. He coached them as best he could, developed a fair team, began to secure games with other small town teams, and before long the boys and the community forgot their ill-feelings and were "pulling together" for the "home town team."

Play is therefore one of the most important socializing factors in rural life. It safeguards and develops country people physically, mentally, morally, socially, teaches them adaptability and co-operation, and aids them to be good citizens.

<sup>5</sup> *Church and Young Man's Game*. F. J. Milnes. Doran, 1913, pp. 60.

<sup>6</sup> *Challenge of the Country*. G. W. Fiske. Pp. 129.



## GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

The East Side, it has been discovered, is not the world's worst place to live. Under the guidance of Stanley Walker in the June *Century*, "The Professor Goes Slumming" and finds that the foreign colonies of New York, with their free milk stations, cheap food, low rents, low death rate, and a plethora of "charity" within call, are slums only by tradition and courtesy. As a matter of fact their denizens thrive and live happily, their chief problem being overcrowded housing. But through the South and Southwest, on farms and on the outskirts of prosperous cities, are scarcely noticed Negro, Mexican, and native white communities that far surpass in squalor, misery, and hopelessness anything the rest of the country can show. These are the nation's real slums, and the reclaiming of them will be a tremendous and a disheartening job.

Why is domestic service—or, more brutally, housework—a despised and declining vocation? Because woman has at last revolted against her historic (and biologically unique) position as the help-mate and servant of the male. Charlotte Perkins Gilman shows in the same magazine how the primitive equality of the sexes was upset when the development of home industries made women useful to men, the free mother was gradually debased into a slave wife, and work became synonymous with servitude. Man advanced by specialization into creative effort; woman remained tied to the routine and diversified duties of the home. Yet she is beginning to realize that though motherhood is to be always a personal affair the activities of the kitchen and nursery are social services of the noblest sort. Child culture demands new women

of intelligence and self-respect, who will not be content to "make a home" in the old degrading fashion for a pampered male.

The sesquicentennial of Concord and Lexington has turned many eyes back to the old New England towns, long thought of as symbols of melancholy decadence in a westward-looking nation. But there is a good deal of life in them yet, as four writers in the *Survey* for July 1 set out to demonstrate. Town meetings are still the type and inspiration of democracy in government; the old village improvement societies have been largely responsible for present-day town and regional planning; there is a healthy interest in the development of winter sports, state forests, and the summer tourist industry. May we not see in this the beginnings of a Yankee renaissance?

The true values of civilization lie not in the heroic gestures of war but in the simple activities of sowing and reaping, hunting and shepherding, hewing wood and cutting stone that make up the daily round of existence in town or country. Place, work, and folk are the three determining factors in community life everywhere, and a history that deals with their past will lay the broadest foundations for the social understanding and control of the future. Patrick Geddes has sketched the outlines of this new historical method in two articles on "The Valley Plan of Civilization" from the same magazine for June 1 and July 1. The river valley, reaching from sea-shore up through rich alluvial plains to rolling highlands and mountain slopes, dotted with cities, villages, farmsteads, ranges, and forests, forms the clearest type of the

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natural "region" in which communities develop. With penetrating skill he has outlined the larger features of this regional life and how its past may be recreated for our guidance.

A thoughtful confirmation of this thesis comes from the July number of the *Hibbert Journal*. Moving toward "A Philosophy of Labor," that will keep our civilization from going the dusty way of all its forerunners, J. W. Scott reminds us that an urban age is by its very nature parasitic, bleeding to death the farms and pastures it lives upon. The old simple society of rural sufficiency is gone forever; but we may nevertheless get back to the earth before the storm breaks. Our grimy industrial centers will remain and increase, but with a new technique of housing, education, and transport we can scatter their congested populations over the countryside in community villages, train their children to be partially self-supporting through gardens and small farms, and so in time build up a society, drawing its strength as of old from the soil, that will be gladly doing work of a sort of nourish both body and soul. Only by assuring its servants health and elbow-room while they labor can modern industrialism justify its right to endure.

"How Shall the Planned Region Be Governed?" Through a small council elected at large by proportional representation, suggests Thomas H. Reed in the July *American City* (and also, at greater length, in the *National Municipal Review* for the same month). He believes that new institutions of local government are even more important than zoning,

transport, and public utilities for the rural-urban areas that are now taking shape. . . . A regional plan for the nine California counties touching upon San Francisco Bay, now under consideration, is outlined by Russell V. N. Black. . . . Edward M. Bassett in the August number again writes of the fundamentals of American zoning, discussing the "police power" under which it operates, the state enabling acts, the practice of the courts in determining the constitutionality of local ordinances, and the varying degrees of flexibility which are achieved in practice.

The annual survey of city planning in the United States for 1924, which appears in the May *National Municipal Review*, reveals that some 300 planning and zoning commissions were at work and that 62 municipalities adopted zoning ordinances for the first time. . . . Paul Studensky reports on the "Status of Zoning in New Jersey" and the new flexible state law which is proving one of the best in the country. . . . Recent court decisions on zoning are interpreted in the June issue by Edward M. Bassett, who shows that adverse judgments in several states have called attention to the importance of sound and liberal enabling acts. . . . Westchester County, a semi-urban area 25 miles square adjoining New York City on the north, has planned a new government, which replaces the usual rambling organization of supervisors who possess little authority or responsibility with a centralized executive consisting of a county president and eight other elective officials. Richard S. Childs thinks the plan has a good chance of adoption at the referendum in November.

## CHURCH AND RELIGION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### CAN A MAN BE A CHRISTIAN TODAY

WILLIAM LOUIS POTEAT

YESTERDAY lives in today. As far back as the archeologist is able to extend the human story, man is still found to be man, woman, woman. The Sumerian men of three thousand years before Christ built them buttressed fortifications and columned palaces, fashioned war-chariots and battle-axes of copper ornamented with gold; and the ladies had their proper adornments of agate beads, copper hairpins with animal heads, vanity cases, and rouge. And Sir Flinders Petrie reports that the finest Egyptian jewelry so far recovered dates from 5500 B. C. The past is present. The tradition is unbroken because human nature is unchanged. In the fundamentals of human life, its essential activities and needs and interests, the modern world is the ancient world brought down to date. People are very much as they have always been, but the human scene is various and tangled to an unexampled degree. People are the same, but there are more of them than there were before. In the single century since 1800 the population of the earth has grown to be nearly three times what it had become in all the millenniums before that date. And we are closer together than ever before. We move about faster and bump into one another oftener and more violently. Life is a grand mix-up of persons, classes, nations, races, with vastly multiplied opportuni-

ties of coöperation indeed, but of antagonism and collision as well. Epidemics tend to become pandemic, and the contagion of opinion spreads rapidly and far. As the Japanese current softens the climate of California, so the materialism of the West infects the thought of the East.

Obviously today differs from yesterday mainly in externals. It is the modes and machinery of life that are different, not life itself. The means of travel are more swift and luxurious, but the passengers are of the pattern and order of their grandparents. Some among us go further and maintain that the world of men has seen better days. With all our mastery of things, we do not master ourselves. It may be questioned whether there has been any improvement of the human stock during the historic period. Certainly two centuries of ancient Athens produced men who, in statesmanship, philosophy, letters, oratory, and art, set standards for all subsequent time. Sir Francis Galton, a pioneer in the study of human faculty, declared that the Athenian race of 500 to 300 B. C. was as much superior to the present English race as the present English race is superior to the present African race. Demosthenes could have handled Burke in debate, possibly also the late orator from the wheat fields of the Northwest. The first sovereign of the Roman Empire would not suffer in

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comparison with the last president of the Western Republic. Nelson's flagship at Trafalgar was 186 feet long. Battleships are today 1000 feet long, but they carry few Nelsons. A recent writer pushes back the period for comparison to the remote antiquity of the Pleistocene Epoch, when, biologically speaking, man ceased to be progressive, began, indeed, a decline of which we ourselves are illustrations. In physique and cranial capacity the Cro-Magnon man had the advantage of modern man with seven inches more of average height and one-sixth more brain.

#### I. SCIENCE

The revolution which has occurred in the apparatus and environment of human life under the eye of some of us is the direct result of the new knowledge of nature. The modern scientific movement began in the seventeenth century. The progress of discovery was slow, especially in the earlier stages, partly because knowledge is the means and condition of knowledge; partly because knowledge must wait upon the production and efficiency of its instruments; partly because the prophets of the new knowledge have always been crucified by the scribes of old. Think of the long night through which the human spirit cowered in terror before the beneficent but veiled forces of nature. Think of the six centuries during which a book written by an Egyptian monk to vindicate the Bible against the heathen doctrine of the rotundity of the earth was the authority, not only in theology, but also in geography and astronomy. The monk emptied the Ganges into the Nile and made the earth a flat rectangle from the edges of which solid walls rose up to support the solid heavens! Think of the one hundred years' struggle of the Copernican astronomy against the Ptole-

maic tradition, of Vesalius and Harvey confronting with lonely audacity the authoritative anatomy going back to Galen. Think of the scientific revolution of the last century—of its morning star, Lamarck, dying in obloquy and privation, of Lyell planning at first to publish his immortal *Principles of Geology* anonymously to circumvent theological opposition, of the pioneers who accepted mockings and scourgings while they laid the two foundation stones of modern biology, the doctrine of protoplasm and the doctrine of evolution. The bitterness and tragedy of that struggle ended about 1885 in an enlightened treaty of peace accepted by the leaders of the opposing camps. Think of the breaking of that truce of God but yesterday by a few earnest and capable but misguided men who, in the effort to protect our most precious possession, are in reality putting it in peril. Are the victories of intelligence after all insecure? Will there never arise a generation able to read the past and respect its warnings? This battle of the boundary—must the adventurous pioneers of the kingdom of truth meet resistance on every frontier and fight their way through forever?

Another feature of this difficult advance must, in all fairness, be recalled. Some men, speaking the language of science, recounting its triumphs and arrogant in its name, modern Rabshakehs, have left their proper country of Assyria to violate the territory of Zion, and with a loud voice have reproached God and insulted His people. Such scientists have turned philosophers without the philosopher's poise, and they must take their share of the odious responsibility of inciting warfare against all science.

Nevertheless, the frontier moves on. The sphere of light gets itself a longer radius, even though its surface meets the

unknown in more points than ever before. Apart from the net achievements of science, may there not be a more cheerful view of the resistance of conservatism to new truth? Possibly it is a case of gasoline and brakes combining to secure a safe advance. Maybe, the sieve of struggle insures us our grain of truth without grits or chaff.

What with materialism, what with conservatism blocking the way, even so we move forward into the day. Science has transformed our world. It has expanded the universe in all directions in space and in time. Contrast the solid over-arching firmament of the ancient Hebrews with the heavens of the new astronomy—limiting walls all down, star dust become suns, and the unit of measure from sun to sun the distance which light covers speeding through trackless deeps at 186,000 miles a second. That measuring rod is five and three-fourths trillion miles long. We say, for example, that Alpha Centauri is four light-years away, that is, twenty-three trillion miles. It is a long way from the first telescope of Florence to the Hooker reflecting telescope at Mount Wilson. Galileo discovered the moons of our neighbor planet, Jupiter. Today Dr. Hubble measures the distance and brightness of a star in the nebula of Andromeda, stationing it 930,000 light-years away in the illimitable universe and reporting the volume of its radiation four thousand times that of our near and friendly little sun. This expansion of the universe in the telescope of today is matched by the revelation of its materials and substance in the spectroscope of today. That wizard of long-range analysis identifies flaming gases in a star 1000 light-years away, and proclaims at once the unity of substance and the reign of law everywhere, from "the cosmic mote" on which we spin in the void to Mira Ceti 250,000

miles in diameter, whose light reaching us tonight started on its journey when the British Stamp Act stirred the American colonies to revolt. So sudden and so astounding has been the opening out of the universe that Mr. Bernard Shaw is unable to adjust himself to it and professes himself skeptical of its methods and results.

And what an expansion in time has science made! As we turn the first stony pages of the geological record we grope in a past of unimaginable remoteness. Fossil human remains and the excavated memorials of extinct civilizations push the human story back many thousands of years into the past. The Instructions of Ptah-Hotep, the oldest book in the world, was composed at least four thousand years before Christ.

If we look in another direction, we discover ourselves in a new world. Not so many years ago, as Mr. Belloc says, everyone took cheerfully for granted an eternal little thing called the atom. It was indivisible and ultimate. Now we learn that it is, in reality, a system like the solar system consisting of a central sun, the nucleus, and revolving planets, the electrons. These ultra-microscopic electrons revolve in their orbits at the velocity of 1400 miles a second. Their number varies with the element from one in hydrogen to 92 in uranium. By the loss of particles from the nucleus, the atoms of one element become the atoms of another, uranium becoming in this way successively eleven different elements of which lead is the last. In other words, the dream of the alchemist is about come true: One element may be transformed into another. These researches have now gone so far as to break down the old conception of matter and force and to render very vague the hitherto sharp distinction between matter and spirit.

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stellar systems is mere matter, marvellous but dead. It is in the sphere of living nature that the revelations of modern science become significant and therefore revolutionary. For life is Nature's goal and crown. Her struggle upward out of war and night into order and beauty, her wistful brooding for ages on the insensate elements, all her storm and pain find their compensation when Life first rises to view. It is lodged in a tiny cell. It is frail and simple and poorly equipped. But she takes it to her bosom, warms and guards it, feeds it with opportunity, establishes and diversifies it with struggle, until alga and moss and fern and rose, infusor and worm and insect and bird and man respond to her mother yearning from every nook of her wide domain.

In the sphere of living nature two lines of inquiry have been pursued more or less independently. One of them concerned with the structure, habits, distribution, and relationships of living beings, began with the first intelligent observation of these creatures. It culminated about 1860 in the establishment of the doctrine of evolution. The other waited of necessity for the appearance (1590) and perfecting of its great instrument, the microscope. For it dealt with the microscopic structure of organisms and with that most marvellous of all substances, protoplasm, apart from which the phenomena of life do not occur. No great progress was made before 1839, when the cell doctrine was established. Singularly enough these studies reached their culmination about 1860 in the establishment of the doctrine of protoplasm. That doctrine declares that, in its essential properties and powers, protoplasm is the same, whether in the form of an amoeba performing all the functions of animal life without organs, or a germ-cell carrying in its microscopic dimensions its freight of a thousand

hereditary traits, or a brain cell thrilling with a high emotion. By this doctrine all the living world was unified in substance as by the evolution doctrine it was unified in mode of origin. Accordingly modern biology dates from 1860.

Much yet remains to be learned about protoplasm and evolution. Biology is a growing science. Since the recovery in 1900 of the epochal work published in 1866 by the Austrian monk, Gregor Mendel, research in the problems of protoplasm has turned mainly and with great promise to genetics and heredity, and no page in biological history is brighter with foretokens of practical blessings to mankind than that which records the achievements of these twenty-five years. So with regard to evolution. About the principle and fact of evolution there is no question in the minds of responsible biologists. It is taken for granted, just as the Copernican astronomy, or the germ "theory" of infectious diseases. This great conception is embedded in the texture of the intellectual life of today. It guides our thinking in well-nigh all fields of inquiry and informs the noblest types of contemporary literature. One wonders whether the proposal to disentangle and expunge it by ecclesiastical or legislative enactment can by any possibility be really serious. But the method of evolution, the process by which organisms vary and new types arise, is yet unsettled. Lamarck offered an explanation. Darwin recognized Lamarck's suggestion and proposed another. Eimer proposed another, Weismann another, and DeVries still another. The final explanation will probably synthesize all these. As Bateson declared, this is a technical, almost a domestic problem and any day may see the mystery solved. Here again students of the way evolution works are turning for light to the young science of genetics,



and a wide-ranging series of field observations and breeding experiments now under way gives promise of important results.

## II. THE APPLICATIONS OF SCIENCE

Hardly so magnificent, but no less striking than the expansion of our world by astronomy, physics, and biology, have been the results of the application of the new knowledge to the modes and machinery of human life. Our grandfathers would not believe their eyes, if they could be stirred from their quiet sleep and see down on Main Street or Fifth Avenue today. The cave men of Dordogne would be little more confused and helpless.

In the seventeenth century Sir Thomas Browne wrote: "It is too late to be ambitious. The great mutations of the world are acted." But we know that the discoveries of science had at that time barely begun. Indeed, in the hundred years next behind us, ambitious and consecrated explorers have mapped wider provinces in the continent of the unknown and added more to the intellectual wealth of the world than in all the centuries before. And the great mutations of the world which Sir Thomas looked back upon were, in reality, ahead of him. Of course, pure science preceded applied science. And usually the aim of pure science is truth, not utility. When Cavendish produced nitric oxide directly from the air he did not foresee how his discovery would later make the world independent of the saltpetre of Chile for its supply of nitrate. The vacuum tubes of Sir William Crookes back in the seventies were the precursors of the radio-therapy of 1910. The marvels of Edison and Marconi are descendants of the pure science of Faraday and Maxwell.

Progress in the biological sciences has been turned to good account for the pro-

motion of human welfare. Bacteriology has given us control of most of the infectious diseases of useful plants and animals, including man. Medicine and surgery, which are biological in their foundations, have enhanced the efficiency and the duration of life. And the young science of eugenics, as its path grows surer and clearer, is leading us to the possibility of checking racial degeneracy and promoting positively racial improvement, as, indeed, it has already done in the case of domestic animals and farm and garden crops. But it is, rather, the progress and applications of the physical sciences that have so notably increased man's control over nature and so universally transformed the conditions and instruments of his life and work. Think of travel and transportation. My father, with his carriage and big bays, would have started from our home in Caswell County at sunrise in order to drive into Chapel Hill at sundown. I make it today in the Hudson under two hours. We float in palaces on the sea, under the sea, above the sea. We fly on the land, under the land, above the land, from 35 to 200 miles an hour. The transmission of power, light, and heat, communication, or the transmission of intelligence by telegraph, telephone, wireless, radio—these make the modern world. They have widened the range of human interests and activities. They have increased men's power to gratify their desires. They have increased the productive capacity of the average man perhaps fifty-fold. They supply the conditions out of which modern industrialism has developed, with its wide organization controlled from one center and the close network of business which makes all sections of the world one and interdependent. Here is the mechanism of propaganda, mass opinion, and mass action; wings for light and healing for

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any dark and festering areas of human life. Surely science is making the world one and new and neighborly. Is it not preparing the way of the people, casting up the highway, gathering out the stones—preparing in the wilderness the way of the Lord, making straight in the desert a highway for our God? If men were controlled by rational considerations and good-will, this would certainly be true. Men are, in fact, controlled by their instincts and impulses, by tradition and emotion. Pure science and its practical applications merely create the conditions under which instinct and passion compass their ends. Science confers power, not purpose. It is a blessing, therefore, if the purpose which it serves is good, it is a curse if the purpose is bad. It is clear, for example, that if Christian conscience does not end war, science will end civilization.

### III. INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL ATTITUDES

We have seen how science pushes out the boundaries of human life and equips it with power. But there is another and more important way in which science affects human life. As Mr. Bertrand Russell puts it, science may operate through an effect upon the imaginative conception of the world, the theology or philosophy accepted in practice by energetic men. It is these intellectual and moral attitudes developed in the atmosphere of science which we turn now to consider.

#### *Individualism*

First of all, the new individualism. Nothing is more conspicuous. Every man counts one, now at length every woman also, thank God. Special privilege is passed or passing, and every man is coming into his own. Emancipation from the restraints imposed by authority

sets everybody free. There is much talk of personal liberty even in the face of the reasonable requirements of the public safety. One may think what one pleases to think and say what one thinks. Social conventions are flouted with impunity, involving often the standards of morality. Such indications of extravagance are observed with alarm on every hand, for individualism without religious restraints easily passes into license in personal experience and anarchy in society.

#### *Democracy*

This self-determination expressing itself in the organized life of men is democracy. In etymology democracy is the rule of the people. But equal participation in government, universal suffrage, and majority rule are not democracy itself so much as the mechanism of democracy. The essence of democracy is the spirit of fraternity and justice, which recognizes corporate responsibility as well as individual rights, and renders mass action possible in unprecedented volume and variety. In earlier periods mass action was limited to the prosecution of wars. In the modern world it extends into other fields, religious, economic, and political. But the democratic spirit is as yet gravely backward in development. It appears to exhaust itself within the mass and to have no surplus of fraternity and justice to apply to the interaction of masses. For example, the moral law is supreme and operative within our national boundaries, but when Mr. Wilson sought to apply that law to our international relationships, he found the Senate averse and obdurate. The democracy of our time cannot count itself secure, nor can the world count it a boon, unless it can accept or create a morality adequate to the guidance and control of the situation which it has produced.

*Internationalism*

And this introduces us to another notable feature of the world of today. I refer to internationalism, or what Mr. Wells calls the international mind. It may be defined as the cosmopolitan sense of human relations, the recognition by one nation of the rights of all nations, the coöperation of independent nations to secure their integrity and promote their common interests. Such a fellowship of nations was, of course impossible before the rise of modern sovereign states in the sixteenth century. It was likewise impossible before the development of the gigantic machinery of communications which has gone far toward unifying the modern world. It may, perhaps, be said to have been born in the World War. It is now a cause, a passion, almost a religion. The League of Nations is its vital expression. That covenant was the greatest and most promising of human documents for the coöperation of all men against the stupidity and crime of war, and the promotion of the law of justice and fraternity among nations. American rejection of it was as disastrous as it was irrational. Our present attitude is indefensible from any point of view. But international fellowships are already established, whether Washington gives them formal recognition or not. Business is international. Currents of the intellectual life flow freely across the boundaries. Culture is cosmopolitan, human, public. To the horizon of culture Christianity adds fellowship and kindness, sees in aliens brothers, and knows no boundaries political or racial in the universality of its service.

*Rationalism*

Somewhat more nearly related to our specific inquiry is the habit into which

science has led us of bringing everything to the test of reason and relying upon it in all matters of belief and conduct. Science has grown by the rational treatment of the facts which the senses report. A method so victorious in the struggle with difficulty and obscurantism proved to be contagious. Formerly we consulted authority and tradition and trusted when we could not see. Today we trace tradition to its sources and ask of authority, "Who made thee a judge over us?" We subject religious doctrine and the interpretation of the Bible to the test of the rational faculty, just as we apply that test to all other bodies of literature and doctrine. And however partial and dangerous it may be to rely upon one of our faculties and ignore the rest, many among us add to the habit of rationalism the offensive attitude of bigotry. The rationalism of science will set down as absurd what it is unable to explain or handle with its apparatus of the footrule, the clock, and the balance. So Reinach will declare that "religion is a collection of scruples which impede the free exercise of our faculties." The rationalism of orthodoxy will deny any fact which does not fit neatly into its system without deranging it, will go beyond what is written and seek to enforce with anathemas subscription to the decrees of an alien logic. So Mr. Bryan will say that evolution is "a false, absurd, and ridiculous doctrine without support in the written Word of God and without support also in nature."

*Fundamentalism*

An interesting phenomenon in the religious thought of today springs out of this Western and modern tendency to rationalize the religious experience. Fundamentalism is an active movement which it is impossible to ignore, even if

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one wishes to do so. In so far as it succeeds it is likely to impose on popular opinion the view that religion and science cannot dwell together in peace in the same mind. Such a practical result the propaganda does not seek, but it follows of necessity. The gentlemen who are promoting this movement appear to have learned nothing from history, illustrating a saying of the German author of the *Philosophy of History* that we learn from history that men never learn anything from history. They are loyal to a closed logical system and are repeating a blunder against which the past is full of warnings, and they are courting the disaster which has invariably followed the blunder—the disaster of raising a perilous issue and later pulling it down. After a bitter resistance Christian theology in England came to see that the discovery of the method of creation did not dispense with the Divine agency in creation, and along with other human disciplines accepted and incorporated the great conception of evolution. That modus, as we have seen, was established some forty years ago. But only yesterday a few gentlemen, sincere, devout, and capable, old enough to remember it if they were even slightly in touch with the thought of that period, waked up to find, as they thought, the scientists secretly digging out the foundations of Christianity. Their excitement and alarm spread rapidly and widely. Trained for the most part in prelaboratory days, they could not be expected to have the scientific habit or attitude. Invoking a man-made theory of inspiration most unfair to the precious documents of our faith, and committed to a bald literalism of interpretation, they take the rôle of defenders of the faith and in its name propose, by ecclesiastical and legislative enactment, by executive order, by organized propaganda, by inquisition and the

refinements of modern torture, to crowd the eagle back into the shell and then, in Voltaire's famous phrase, crush the infamous thing. An organ of the movement announces that its purpose is "to drive out of all tax-supported schools every evolution teacher and every book teaching evolution. It is going to mean war to the knife, knife to the hilt." Once more the old slogan comes out of retirement—"religion or science," "Moses or Darwin." These earnest but misguided men are producing no effect whatsoever upon scientific opinion. Their solicitude comes in the wrong century. It might have been more effective in the nineteenth. In another direction, however, Fundamentalism is not without influence, and there lies the tragedy of it. It is compromising Christianity before the intelligence of the world. The young men and women who are trained in the laboratories of our colleges and universities, so far as they are affected at all, will find it difficult, under this interpretation, to keep their place in the Christian communion, or unpromising to enter. Without intending it, these ardent propagandists are, in reality, scattering thorns in the path of the young Greeks of our day who would see Jesus. We are witnessing another case of conservatism putting in jeopardy the cause which it seeks to save. The spectacle is amazing and disheartening.

#### *Modernism*

Modernism in its newer phase is the reaction from Fundamentalism. As there are extreme Fundamentalists, so there are extreme Modernists. If the one says that he believes everything in the Bible from cover to cover, including the covers—everything read as it was written, interpreted with severest literalism, the other says he believes nothing in the Bible,

interpreted with never so much freedom of figure and allegory: science has displaced religion as religion displaced magic. These two categories are neither exclusive nor exhaustive. Most intelligent Christians decline both labels. In French and other legislative assemblies three groups of members are recognized—the Right or conservatives, the Left or radicals, and the Center, the group holding intermediate or moderate views. The Center is most likely to be both clear and dependable. A great artist once said to me, "Perfection lies midway between perfection and barbarism."

#### CONCLUSION

In view of the several features of contemporary life and thought with which we have been dealing, the impression is inevitable that a grave situation is developing. There is much debate with its attendant confusion. Earnest purposes halt in indecision. A complacent indifference and a flippant flat denial justify themselves by the disagreement of the doctors. Perplexity knots up many a brow whenever religion is mentioned, and serious spirits all about us respond deeply to Browning's Greek poet Cleon feeling after God in the dark:

I ask

And get no answer, and agree in sum,  
O King, with thy profound discouragement,  
Who seest the wider but to sigh the more.

In order to forestall the impression that this somber discussion is merely academic with little relation to the concrete life of our period, allow me to present a transcript or two from life. This from Anatole France, but lately gone upon the great adventure behind the veil. It is reported by his secretary:

"If you could read my soul, you would be horrified." He took my hands into his own, feverish and

trembling. He looked in my eyes, and I saw that his own were full of tears. His face was all ravaged. He sighed, "There is not an unhappier creature than I in the whole universe. People think me happy. I have never been happy—not an hour, not a day. . . . Do not pluck the veil from the temple with a brutal hand. Pluck it away a little at a time. Riddle it with sly little holes. Under the pretext of mending it, cut away a few shreds here and there to make dolls with . . . I have spent my whole life twisting dynamite into ornamental curl-papers."

There is France the man slyly cutting into shreds the sanctities of the world for the amusement of the world. One wonders if France the man was not France the nation, an authentic representative, a section of the intellectual life of the period.

Here is another human document, a letter of three months ago from a former pupil:

In the past several years I have not gone to church very often as I do not find the sermons very satisfying—mostly concerning heaven, which the average preacher does not paint as a very attractive place, hell as about what I imagine a steel mill to be, and God as a very small person indeed—always vengeful and seeking every excuse to punish the puny creatures He has made. I have three children of ordinary or better intelligence. . . . I also have several friends. . . . What I want to ask of you is that you will give me the main points of the talk you made here in F— years ago, and also of what you said sometime later, etc. . . . If you can give me this in words as simple and yet as fully carrying your meaning as your lectures on biology were given fifteen years ago, you will be doing my children and my friends a great kindness.

A little later this letter was read to an acute friend of mine, with the suggestion that it was a typical human document. He replied:

I know it's so! Many men of my acquaintance don't go to church because they hear so much they know to be untrue and because they get no good from it which they are able to recognize. Old people will say, "But you ought to go to church," and the judgment is enforced by appeal to propriety and convention now. A little further back the appeal was to business advantage, still further back to tor-

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ture. The preacher says, "You ought to believe," and proceeds on the assumption that he ought to believe. And when you say you do believe, why, then, by jingo! you are saved! But I maintain that is not religion, but a form of social control. Many people define religion as social control invented by kings and priests to keep the people in order. . . . A closed mind is made the test of loyalty. It is so in all spheres, as well as in religion.

before us; and cloud and fog have a transient sort of habit, they pick up and go.

The fog comes  
On little cat feet.  
It sits looking  
Over harbor and city  
On silent haunches,  
And then moves on.

By this time you are charging me with spreading a pretty drab coat of paint over a pretty bright world. But I beg you to remember two things: it is wise to take a frank look at things as they are, for they present the factors of the problem

If the night is dark, the morning waits a little below the rim of the horizon. In mid-Atlantic a ship met us near midnight in fog and a rolling sea, and we picked up her wireless message: "Fair weather forty miles ahead!"

## GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

The thorough scepticism of these post-war years takes nothing for granted from the past. Christianity is no longer the central principle of our life, but merely a suppliant pleading for entrance into the political and industrial order we have built up. Whether it can ever be made a social way of life is highly doubtful. Its appeal was in the beginning solely personal, as a faith whereby "the world" was to be transcended rather than interpermeated and so transformed. Hence its teachings cannot be applied directly to social institutions: society is to be reached only through the individual, when men as men are ready to exchange their materialism for a new sense of spiritual values. Such is the thesis of an arresting paper on "Christianity and Civilization" by Reginald F. Rynd in the June *Nineteenth Century*.

The spirit of the times would seem to be working against such downright individualism. Kemper Fullerton's "Church and the Present Social Order" in the July-August *American Review* speaks

for a wider interpretation of the gospel. True, he says, that it first dealt with motive rather than act, with the heart and not the man's place in the outer world. But every generation of Christians since the first have recognized a group loyalty to a certain historic movement—the church—as well as a personal loyalty to an individual, and must therefore have been vitally concerned with what sort of an environment this great movement had to exist in. We are today part of a pagan society that commits such corporate sins as poverty and war. Goodwill by itself is impotent; we must understand something of the laws and principles operating throughout our social life in order to apply the intelligence that alone can create a Christian social order, in which personal Christianity will be able to flourish.

Our triple heritage from Greece, Rome, and Judea includes art, philosophy, literature, government, law, and religious monotheism. Owing to sectarian jealousy, the spirit of materialism, and the



taking over of education by the state, however, this last contribution is largely denied to modern youth and only vaguely understood. Any attempt to remedy this failing must recognize the separation of church and state, freedom of conscience, and the responsibility of the home and the church for instruction in religion. Yet there remains a connection between "The State and Religious Teaching," insists Henry Noble Sherwood in the August *Scribner's*: the civil government may and should coöperate with home and church by giving the schoolroom a reverential tone and appearance, selecting teachers who typify the finest qualities of character, and putting the Bible into the curriculum as a piece of great literature. The practice of releasing pupils for an hour or two a week for religious education by outside agencies, and of allowing academic credit in state universities for courses given in schools of religion, is now becoming widespread.

Reunion between Protestant and Catholic churches will never take place unless the former accept the Roman polity and theology. Federation within Protestantism, now rapidly going on, is fronted with the dangers of sacrificing intellectual honesty to avoid controversy, of confusing religion with a conventional and cheerful good behavior, and of being exploited for political ends. "The Real Divisions in Modern Christianity," according to Kirsopp Lake in the June *Atlantic*, are between Fundamentalism, Experimentalism, and Institutionalism. The first party, large, energetic, and badly educated, represents an incomplete and unintelligent survival of dogmatic theology. At the opposite pole are those who hold that experiment is the basis of knowledge in spiritual life as elsewhere, and that the churches should be inclusive societies for the furtherance of living religion, how-

ever accepted. Standing between these groups is a third which attempts to put new meaning into the old forms and doctrines, made up of opportunists who are willing to yield a little in either direction for the sake of practical efficiency. The immediate issue to the contest is highly uncertain.

The renaissance now under way in China may prove as important an epoch as the rebirth of European life after the Middle Ages. The movement is scientific in method, democratic in aim, radical in its thinking, and concerned primarily with social reform. At the invasion of the country by western ideals, both economic and religious, it looks frankly and critically. Christianity is challenged, says Elizabeth T. Schrader in the May-June *American Review*, with being superstitious and illogical, contrary to sound social theory, unadaptable to China, a servant of capitalistic exploitation, and a prey to sectarian rivalry. If missions are to have a part in the new life, they must accept the spirit of the renaissance, adopting and guiding its purposes so far as they are compatible with progressive Christianity, and so creating a native church in harmony with the Chinese racial genius.

What is the religion of an industrial age going to be like? The new cultural and social life that modern economic conditions have created is out of touch with our institutions of government, law, education, and religion, which still reflect the rural *milieu* of a century or two ago. Religious thinking in harmony with our present mode of life will be interested, thinks Royal Glenn Hall in the following article, in intelligent control rather than emotional escape, it will move toward a humanizing of the divine, its ethical ideals will be a response to current needs, its aim will be the achievement of co-

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operation in human affairs, and it will maintain throughout an experimental attitude toward truth. Concrete methods are in more urgent demand than general principles, and religion must find its basis in the social order rather than in the heavens above or in the solitary heart of man.

A liberal clergyman who writes "In Defense of Mr. Bryan," as one does in the same issue, presents a refreshing paradox. They are both agreed, at least, that the church must have an authoritative message of personal salvation for the sick soul. The liberals, in giving up traditional authority, have not freed themselves from the traditional point of view; they attempt to interpret modern thought without understanding the social and economic conditions of modern life, and hence are put into an apologetic and defensive attitude. In dealing with sin and suffering the conservatives give treatment without diagnosis, but the liberals only too often supply neither. The church must recover its assurance and authority, not by going back to tradition and the written word, but by using science to understand the worth of the human spirit and the possibility of a genuinely redeemed society of men.

"Modernism in India" is grappling with a complicated set of problems. There, where so wide a gulf opens between thinkers and people, mere freedom of thought, which has been always granted to her leaders, can of itself accomplish little. India's fundamentals—caste, ceremonies, custom, and mental patterns—are social rather than theological or creedal, and the modern view of life must recast these forms and dogmas before it will become effective. Enola Eno points in the May *Journal of Religion* to some of the forces of social disorganization that are actually at work, and such attempts at

readjustment as the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the new statement of Hinduism, and the stronger secular reform organizations. India is peculiarly receptive to the evolutionary world-view, to which it contributes a spiritual idealism that is not often found in the West.

Is modernism a legitimate form of Christianity, or a perversion? Orthodoxy charges it with recognizing neither revelation, incarnation, nor salvation. The liberals, in apology, often insist that they are merely attaching new meanings to the old doctrinal phrases that will bring them into harmony with present-day knowledge and the spirit of present-day life. Such a defense evades the issue and is actually self-deceptive, declares Eldred C. Vanderlaan in the same number. Modernism is not simply a restatement but a drastic reconstruction of historic Christianity; yet it may rightly claim the name of Christian because it is a rediscovery of the personality of Jesus behind all the accumulations of ritual and dogma about him. And in attempting to organize devotion toward him rather than toward the traditional church doctrines it has a right to be called evangelical as well.

Sin needs to be looked at not as a metaphysical concept of theology, nor from the newer collective and environmental point of view, but analytically in the actual persons of a great number of sinners. Of recent years criminology has adopted the case-study system for delinquency, recognizing it to be due chiefly to wrong personal or social adjustments, and is abandoning the idea of punishment for that of preventive treatment. The religious approach to sin might well follow the individualized attitude of modern science toward crime, with which sin is to a large extent coterminous. In the personal work of their parishes ministers

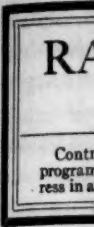
should take over many of the methods of applied sociology, use all the resources of the church, of religion as such, and of their own influence, and give special attention to the problems of adolescents. "Individualizing Sin and the Sinner," by Ernest B. Harper, appears in the same magazine for May and July.

There has been a perpetual conflict between religion and science, and both have been continually developing. To say that one is always right and the other always wrong is too simple; there may be a logical contradiction between natural law and the beauty of holiness, but the two are looking at wholly different aspects of the universe. A clash of doctrines is not a disaster but an opportunity to "let both grow together until the harvest." In the modern world religion has been weakly on the defensive because it will not face change in the same spirit as science does and because it seeks to excite the instinct of fear. But when worship is seen as an adventure of the spirit, a flight after the unattainable, it becomes the powerful inspiration of life. So Alfred N. Whitehead, persuasively states in the August *Atlantic*.

"The Religion of the Scientist"—a matter that is perhaps about to become a question of public policy among these states. The *World's Work* for August carries Albert Edward Wiggam's eloquent interpretation of it. Science, he says, does not know what or why life is, but

it comes to the problem with courage and clean hands, looking intelligently to the future with faith and hope in man's possibilities, and can give us the technical methods for finding the will of God and of serving him. We need to teach the common man the spirit of curiosity and humility that lies behind the facts of science, so that he will be proof against the ingenious humbuggery that passes in its name. This spirit is not a foe but a friend to that mysticism, the incurable longing for contact with the infinite, which is the most essential part of man's nature.

A newer type of religious education, concerned less with memorizing the kings of Israel than with constructing a genuinely Christian social order, is envisaged by Ross W. Sanderson in the *Survey* for June 15. "Dynamic for Dreams," it means taking a great risk that may turn the world upside down; let no one support it unless he is willing to follow the revolutionary footsteps of the Hebrew prophets. . . . The late Mr. Bryan declared war between our 11,000 scientists and the 109,989,000 Americans who are holding to the fundamentals in biology, economics, politics, and morality. Joseph K. Hart discounts these estimates somewhat, but thinks the only way out of a long war of bitterness and intolerance lies in a tremendous campaign of adult education that shall finally free the human mind and enable all men to participate in working out their common destiny.



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# RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

## CIVILIZATION AND ITS EFFECT ON INDIAN CHARACTER

E. E. MUNTZ

**N**O BETTER expression of a wide spread opinion concerning the virtues of the primitive races of America, free from the contaminating influence of European civilization, could be found than the following preamble to the will of one of Spain's early conquistadores:

Lejesama, with his will proved in the city of Cuzco on the 15th of November, 1589, before Gerónimo Sanchez de Quesada, public notary—"First, before beginning my will, I declare that I have desired much to give notice to his Catholic Majesty king Philip, our lord, seeing how good a Catholic and Christian he is, and how zealous in the service of the Lord our God, concerning that which I would relieve my mind of, by reason of having taken part in the discovery and conquest of these countries, which we took from the Lords Yncas, and placed under the royal crown, a fact which is known to his Catholic Majesty. The said Yncas governed in such a way that in all the land neither a thief, nor a vicious man, nor a bad dishonest woman was known. The men all had honest and profitable employment. The woods, and mines, and all kinds of property were so divided that each man knew what belonged to him, and there were no law suits. The Yncas were feared, obeyed, and respected by their subjects, as a race very capable of governing; but we took away their land, and placed it under the crown of Spain, and made them subjects. Your Majesty must understand that my reason for making this statement is to relieve my conscience, for we have destroyed this people by our bad examples. Crimes were once so little known among them, that an Indian with one hundred thousand pieces of gold and silver in his house, left it open, only placing a little stick across the door, as the sign that the master was out, and nobody went in. But when they saw that we placed locks and

keys on our doors, they understood that it was from fear of thieves, and when they saw that we had thieves amongst us, they despised us. All this I tell your Majesty, to discharge my conscience of a weight, that I may no longer be a party to these things. And I pray God to pardon me, for I am the last to die to all the discoverers and conquerors, and it is notorious that there are none left but me, in this land or out of it, and therefore I now do what I can to relieve my conscience."<sup>1</sup>

This old Spaniard viewed the native society of Peru as an outsider, a member of another culture group, and at a point of time distant enough to lend enchantment to the notion that the societies owing allegiance to the Incas were once possessed of all the qualities and virtues idealized by our own civilization. It is the same today; there is a prevalent concept that the American Indian was one of the noblest of men, and that he suffered a moral downfall as a direct result of association with the white man.

Let us try to get away from this spirit of anti-patriotism, as it were, regarding our own times and consider a few of the outstanding defects in native character, as judged by our own code, and determine to what extent these shortcomings may be attributed to the white man's influence.

It is frequently alleged that the aborigine was of the most tractable sort, hospitable, honest, naïve, and truthful

<sup>1</sup> Markham, C. R. *The Travels of Cieza de Leon*, p. XXXIII (*Calancha*, lib. i, cap. 15, p. 98).

in his native state, and continued so at the time of early contact until the misdeeds and the overreaching of the white man placed evils before him which he was not slow to imitate and to acquire. Thus the virtues of primitive man disintegrated into the vices of civilization.

Now as a matter of fact hospitality in aboriginal societies was limited to members of the individual group, and to those persons belonging to other clans or tribes which maintained marital, commercial or military relationships with it. Hospitality was a characteristic of the peace group, just as it is today. The savage extended the privileges of hospitality to the early white man for various reasons; he accepted him into his own peace group in accord with custom the same as a member of any other friendly tribe. The Caucasian represented a race type which was entirely strange and foreign to the Indian. With an inadequate stock of knowledge and faith, and with utter dependence upon the supernatural, it is little wonder that the aborigines thought the white horsemen were centaurs, and stood aghast to see the beast and man parts separate themselves. And, as is well known, the Spaniards were regarded as beings of a divine nature, come in accordance with an ancient promise to their god Quetzalcoatl. The Bahama Islanders are said to have regarded the white faced, bearded Spaniards as messengers from the oversea heaven of their ancestors, come to take them with them. Furthermore the guns, clothing and equipment of the Spaniards imposed upon the superstitions of the natives to such an extent as to gain for the former a ready welcome and subservience on the part of the Indians.<sup>2</sup> To a greater or less extent this same scene was enacted wher-

<sup>2</sup> Zimmerman, A. *Die Europäischen Kolonien*, I, 270.

ever the aborigines first came in contact with the pale faces and accounts for their extreme friendliness; it would be dangerous not to do homage to the Gods.

Putting aside the unusual conditions of the earliest contact, commerce and trade accounted largely for the amiable and hospitable behavior of many tribes toward the white man. He brought within their reach the most desired products of civilization, liquor, firearms, and other trade goods of scarcely less importance to the savage, such as knives, axes, kettles, and cotton goods. White men possessing the accoutrements of civilized warfare, before such became common in the hands of the natives, were always welcome for it was unusual that a tribe did not have an enemy against whom the assistance of the powerful visitor was sought. Thus in 1637 the Narragansetts invoked the aid of the colonists against the powerful Pequots, and the Algonkins were ever solicitous of French help against their arch-enemy, the Iroquois.

The fact that the American Indian had no concept of private ownership of land might also be adduced as one of the reasons for his passivity when the earliest settlers came to live beside him. He recognized only the right of private property in movables and chattels; land was plentiful and free to all; therefore it was nothing to him that the white man chose to occupy his country until the presence of the latter, with habitations and enclosures, interfered with the Indian's livelihood by scaring off the game. The peace group was gradually contracted, and the red man looked upon the Caucasian as a member of a foreign group whose interests were incompatible with his own. And therewith the old-time hospitality ceased.

Let us now consider the much mooted question as to whether association with

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<sup>3</sup> Lumholtz

<sup>4</sup> Le Clercq

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<sup>5</sup> Beechey,  
*Straits*, p. 226.

the European and the colonist has taught the American aborigine an utter disregard for truth and honesty, or whether those faults are characteristic of the native. In order to judge fairly of this matter let us get a few cases before us.

The Tarahumare while in his native state, according to Lumholtz, never cheats at bargains. If he has anything to sell that is in any way defective he always draws attention to the flaw, and if a jar has any imperfection, it requires much persuasion to make him part with it. "Often I trusted Indians with a silver dollar or two for corn to be delivered a few days later, and never was I disappointed by them."<sup>3</sup> Le Clercq cites a very interesting report coming from one of the Recollect Fathers at Tadoussac:

I remarked a great trait of justice in their chief. After we made peace he complained that we sold our goods too dear when the Indians came to trade, and he asked that they should be sold cheaper in the future. Our factor for the merchants, seeing his importunity, told him that he would sell cheaper to him but not to the rest. This Indian then began to say to this factor in a disdainful way: "You make fun of me to say that you will sell cheap to me and dear to my people. If I did so I should deserve to be hung and beheaded by my people. I am a chief; I do not speak for myself; I speak for my people." This I witnessed.<sup>4</sup>

The Eskimos at Cape Thompson were most eager to trade with Beechey's men, and although they were exceptionally good at driving hard bargains, they were found to be very honest, extremely good-natured, and friendly.<sup>5</sup> Old experienced traders among the Indians have frequently asserted that they lost less money on long-standing accounts, aggregating large sums, than in their comparatively

small dealings with the white people in their neighborhood. One successful trader among the Sioux who, in the early nineties, lent some \$30,000 to his Indian neighbors in anticipation of a payment they were soon to receive from the Government, in commenting upon the integrity of the natives said, "I did not lose more than \$150 on the whole transaction, and that I lost from a half-breed who did not live on the reservation."<sup>6</sup> The Navaho is reported to be honest and reliable in his dealing with the white man, but like most people, of whatever race, he aims to get as great a return as possible.<sup>7</sup> The Slave and Dog-rib Indians encountered by Mackenzie showed no disposition to purloin anything, although they grew so familiar that it was hard to keep them out of the tents belonging to the members of the party.<sup>8</sup> The Tupis held most things with the exception of their wives and children in common. Thus they had little to quarrel about and theft was unknown. Says Burton,

In the wild parts of Brazil, upon the Ribeira d'Iguape, for instance, when I first travelled (1865), boxes might be left open without the least danger. But a little leavening of colonists from the Southern States of the North American Union so changed the social state, that next year locks and padlocks would not keep out the pilfering finger.<sup>9</sup>

Many additional cases might be cited where aborigines, having had little to do with races of superior culture, are reported as very honest and reliable, but it must be remembered, on the other hand, that examples are quite as numerous where natives, little touched by civiliza-

<sup>3</sup> Lumholtz, Carl. *Unknown Mexico*, I, 244.

<sup>4</sup> Le Clercq, Father C. *First Establishment of the Faith in New France* (tr. by Shea, J. G.), I, 136.

<sup>5</sup> Beechey, F. W. *Voyage to the Pacific and Bering Strait*, p. 226.

<sup>6</sup> Leupp, F. E. *The Indian and His Problem*, pp. 11-2.

<sup>7</sup> Hrdlička, Aleš. "Observations on the Navaho," in *American Anthropologist*, II (N. S.), p. 343.

<sup>8</sup> Mackenzie, Sir Alex. *Voyages—and an Account of the Fur Trade*, I, 31.

<sup>9</sup> Burton, R. F. "The Captivity of Hans Stade" (*Hakluyt*, vol. 51).



tion, are represented as accomplished rogues. Thus the people of the islands and shore of Bering Strait and Kotzebue Sound were notorious among the trading vessels for pilfering. On several occasions the villagers of Cape Prince of Wales fairly took possession of vessels with small crews and walked off with whatever they desired.<sup>10</sup> The Indians of Prince William Sound, says Portlock, seemed to think it a disgrace to be clumsy and caught in the act of stealing; it was a virtue to be successful and undetected. At Cook's River the natives were most audacious thieves, and "what was very remarkable, even the little boys were furnished with small hooked sticks for the purpose of picking pockets."<sup>11</sup>

The Indians of Nootka Sound traded with the strictest honesty when Cook first visited them, but with longer acquaintance these same people became dangerous thieves. One would amuse the boat-keeper while his companions were stealing whatever was within reach. Cook excused their acts in part by attributing such knavery to childish curiosity. The aborigines frequently cheated in selling animal oil by mixing it with water.<sup>12</sup> That the Indian neighbors of the New England colonists had no particular reputation for honesty can readily be seen from such laws as the one of 1666 enacted by Rhode Island to the effect that no Indian could keep a hog with cutmarks in its ears, nor could anyone sell a sheep, swine, or other skin without the ears, under severe penalties. The inference is plain—the Indians would steal pigs if they could, and the colonists

thus prevented placing temptation before them.<sup>13</sup> The Macusis Indians possessed a noticeable tendency to steal small objects, but things of importance were usually left alone.<sup>14</sup> The Indians in the region of La Plata could not be civilized, and from hunters of wild animals they became hunters of domesticated animals; it was easier and more profitable to steal than to trade or to domesticate animals.<sup>15</sup>

From the foregoing examples it is evident that there is no justification for drawing a hard and fast generalization that intercourse with the white man caused the native to lose his natural honesty and truthfulness. The fact is that the Indian has been brought up in accord with a code of mores peculiar to his own individual group. The code prescribes and regulates the rights and duties of every member to his fellowmen; it applies only to those who belong to the tribe, or to other groups which are related by commercial, marital or other ties tending to bind them together. Outsiders are not protected for the code does not extend to them. A few examples will serve to illustrate this point.

The Patagonians are described as haughty, independent, faithful to their promises made between one another, and obliging to each other in their mutual relations. But toward Christians, that is members of the "out group," they are false, deceitful, rancorous and dishonorable, "for they are educated to be thieves."<sup>16</sup> Here it is clearly a case

<sup>10</sup> Weeden, W. B. *Economic and Social History of New England*, I, 29.

<sup>14</sup> Blake, R. H. "Notes on the Rio Alto Branco, North Amazonas," in *Royal Geog. Journal*, vol. 47, p. 367 (May, 1916).

<sup>15</sup> Daireaux, E. *La vie et les mœurs a la Plata*, I, 52.

<sup>16</sup> Hutchinson, T. J. "The Tehuelche Indians of Patagonia," in *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, N. S., VII (1868), p. 321.

<sup>10</sup> Nelson, E. W. "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in *18th Annual Report, B. A. E.* (1896-7), p. 299.

<sup>11</sup> Portlock, Nathaniel. *A Voyage Round the World*, pp. 249, 222, 114.

<sup>12</sup> Cook, Jas. *Third Voyage*, II, 270-2, 279.

of two different groups, the one to the Eskimo, the other to the people of the Bering Strait, is committed rather, it is a clever thief greatly admired by his clan.<sup>17</sup> And the Bering Strait,

Stealing from the white man is regarded as a crime by being talked about by the people are forced to restore. To steal from the white man is not considered a crime, but it brings trouble living about the white man. Ideas in regard to stealing are a result of this wholesome character at various times and places, but are usually safe in most places.

What happens to the white men and the Eskimo?

In this case, the white men are to note that the Eskimo have an innate distrust of the white man. They are asked to do things which they always insist on doing the same way. They even refuse to do things of value to them, but on the other hand, they practice among themselves trading stations should have. In such matters, the white men are honest, paying the Eskimo the same way. It is the same Eskimo, honest and good.

<sup>17</sup> Bancroft, H. II, 64. (Quoted in *Commerce*, p. 16.)

of two different codes of conduct applying—one to fellow-members of the local group, the other to non-members. To the Eskimos the foreigner is outside the pale of the law; in their eyes no wrong is committed in deceiving a stranger; rather, it is an honorable action, and a clever thief preying upon outsiders is greatly admired by the members of his clan.<sup>17</sup> Among the natives of Bering Strait,

Stealing from people of the same village or tribe is regarded as wrong. The thief is made ashamed by being talked to in the *kashim* [assembly] when all the people are present, and in this way is frequently forced to restore the articles he has stolen. . . . To steal from a stranger or from people of another tribe is not considered wrong so long as it does not bring trouble on the community. The Eskimos living about the trading stations have adopted some ideas in regard to this matter from the whites. As a result of this, coupled with the memory of some wholesome chastisements that have followed theft at various times, the property of white men is tolerably safe in most places.

What happened was a forcible enlargement of the peace group to include the white men at the trading station.

In this connection it is also interesting to note that the Unalit display a curious, innate distrust of all strangers, and when asked to do anything for white men always insist upon pay in advance. In the same way they would hesitate and even refuse to give white men any articles of value to be paid for at another time; but on the other hand, it was a constant practice among them to seek credit at the trading stations, to be paid when they should have procured the necessary skins. In such matters, however, they were very honest, paying all debts contracted in this way. It is curious, too, that very often the same Eskimo who would be perfectly honest and go to great trouble to meet his

obligations would not hesitate to steal from the trader who had trusted him.<sup>18</sup> The Tarahumare are extremely chary of selling anything to a stranger, and will even deny that they have anything to sell. Whenever a Tarahumare is actually induced to sell any of his belongings, he does so with the attitude of conferring a great favor upon the buyer. A purchase, however, seems to serve as a medium to draw the stranger into the "we group," for it establishes a kind of brotherhood between the two negotiants who afterward call each other *narangua*.<sup>19</sup>

Ratzel is inclined to think that the encroachments of the white man upon the game preserves of the Indian, thus reducing his means of subsistence, is in large part responsible for the greater ratio of crime committed by natives upon members of the "out group" than upon their fellow tribesmen who, of course, come under the protection and regulation of the native societal code. "What the agriculturalist or the stock breeder wrings for himself by the sweat of his brow is regarded by these nomads as legitimate booty. Thousands of Indians in Texas and Mexico lived by robbery exclusively."<sup>20</sup> In this connection it is to be noted that what we conventionally call dishonesty was introduced to the Indian with the rest of our civilization which we brought into his country. Food, among the old-fashioned Indians, was always regarded as common property; the rule being to let him who was hungry eat, wherever he found that which would stay the cravings of his stomach.<sup>21</sup> Ulloa informs us that if an Indian finds himself without food and without money he

<sup>18</sup> Nelson, E. W. "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in *18th Annual Report, B. A. E.* (1896-7), p. 294.

<sup>19</sup> Lumholtz, Carl. *Unknown Mexico*, I, 244.

<sup>20</sup> Ratzel, F. *Völkerkunde*, I, 468.

<sup>21</sup> Leupp, F. E. *The Indian and His Problem*, p. 9.

<sup>17</sup> Bancroft, H. H. *Native States of the Pacific*, II, 64. (Quoted by Letourneau, Ch., *L'évolution du commerce*, p. 16.)

appropriates whatever he needs when no one is looking; but always the smallest piece or modicum under the impression that it will not be missed. If discovered or caught in the act he stoutly maintains that it was not theft, but a case of necessity without profit to him or bad intention on his part.<sup>22</sup> When a Bering Strait Eskimo is hired to shoot waterfowl, and chances to kill a seal, he always considers it as his own property despite the fact that he was hired to hunt and was paid for his time. The only way the employer could obtain the chance rewards of the hunt would be to pay for such in addition to the regular wages.<sup>23</sup>

It might be expected that the introduction of iron tools and other products of civilization would increase the incentives for theft. This indeed is true, but in the early days when goods of the white trader were relatively rare in the tribe and their possession so significant, the discovery of the thief and the reclamation of purloined articles was inevitable. This fact, coupled with adverse public opinion within the tribe, might be added as a further explanation for the infrequency of theft within the group,<sup>24</sup> but would

act in no way as a check upon spoliation of members of the "out group", for such is not considered a crime.

To recapitulate: Admitting that the contact with certain degraded elements of the white race has had a degenerative influence upon the American aborigines, there certainly is no evidence to support the broad generalization that contact with European civilization has changed a noble race of hospitable, truthful, and honest men into lying, deceptive thieves and rogues. The native is born and brought up under a certain code of mores, that is, the prosperity policy of his own group. For the protection and preservation of the society this code defines and prescribes the duties and obligations of each member to every other member and to the group. But it does not extend to outsiders; they are unprotected; expediency alone determines their treatment—not a balanced judgment as to right or wrong. Moreover we have a conflict of two codes developed under entirely different life conditions. What is right and proper in one is frequently forbidden and regarded as a crime by the other. Thus the Indian's character is good only in so far as it coincides with the mores and customs of our group; in all other respects it is bad. It is largely this adherence to contrary mores which makes the contact Indian appear to us as a rogue devoid of any sense of honor or justice.

<sup>22</sup> Ulloa, Don Antonio de. *Voyage de l'Amerique*, I, 236-7.

<sup>23</sup> Nelson, E. W. "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in *18th Annual Report, B. A. E.*, p. 308.

<sup>24</sup> Von Martius, C. F. *Beiträge zur Ethnographie u. Sprachkunde*, I, 90. Ratzel, F. *Völkerkunde*, I, 460.

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## SOME ASPECTS OF PRIMITIVE CHATTEL SLAVERY

WILLIAM CHRISTIE MacLEOD

**A**BORIGINAL America is the only region where, within historic times, we are able to find human slavery obtaining in the economic milieu of a stone-age culture. Throughout North, Central, and South America we find that captives were considered in law or custom to be the chattels of their individual captors, to be disposed of as the captor wished, either through adoption, sales, sacrifice, or enslavement. Among the advanced civilizations of the Andean plateaus it seems that there was no regular taking of captives and no enslavement of any kind—either chattel or debtor slavery; conquered communities were absorbed as communities into the conquering state. Among the Nahuatl (Aztecs) of the Valley of Mexico virtually all captives were sacrificed to the gods by their captors; there was much debtor slavery among the Nahuatl, but apparently no true chattel slavery. Everywhere else in the Americas, despite the fact that some captives were adopted and some were sacrificed (burnt at the stake, etc.), many were made life-long chattel slaves. Only on the northwest coast of North America (possibly also in Yucatan) was slavery hereditary. Elsewhere in the Americas the enslaved captives could marry and their children were free, and members of the tribe of their captors; but on the Northwest Coast their children were slaves. It is curious that slavery does appear to have been a really important economic institution in the Americas only among the non-agricultural, fishing and hunting tribes of the Northwest Coast (disappearing entirely among the great civilizations of the Andes). On the Northwest Coast the slave population has

been variously estimated at from one-twentieth to one-third of the total population; poor and small tribes had few slaves and were generally the victims of slave raids on the part of the larger and stronger tribes who were composed of a larger percentage of slaves. The intertribal slave trade was active. European influences, putting an end to war and slave raiding and the slave trade on the Northwest Coast in the early and middle nineteenth century, tended to decrease the proportion of slaves held; finally, Canada and the United States succeeded in abolishing slavery altogether. By virtue of the greater importance of slavery among the Northwest Coast tribes than elsewhere in the Americas, our data on slavery as an institution chiefly refers to that area.<sup>1</sup>

## THE STATUS AND TREATMENT OF SLAVES

Chattel slaves, whether of hereditary or non-hereditary status in the Americas, were the personal property of their owners. Except possibly in highly civilized Central America, they could be slain or sold at the will of their master, and the master's right was in no way limited by tribal overrights. The slaves were made to labor as much as possible, and in general seem to have been cruelly and harshly treated—again with the exception of Central America.<sup>2</sup> The treatment they received, however, depended considerably on the temperament and whims of their owner. Slaves might at any time be

<sup>1</sup> I have collected the available data on slavery for the *agricultural* tribes of North America only, in an article in the *American Anthropologist*, 1925, no. 4 (in press).

<sup>2</sup> F. L. de Gomara. *Historia General de las Indias*, 1554 (Chapter on slavery).

slain as propitiatory sacrifices, or as mortuary victims designed to do service for the dead in the other world. On the Northwest Coast they were also slain at potlatches, merely as property which the owner destroys to show his disdain of wealth, in the same way and with the same emotional reaction that other than human property was destroyed in potlatches. This unmerciful potlatch killing of slaves, many of whom had been born into slavery in the tribe no doubt, illustrates the fact of the terribly low and dangerous social position of the Indian slave. I will illustrate from the words of observers. Sproat writes<sup>3</sup> for the Nootka (Ahts) of Vancouver Island, that:

So complete is the power over slaves, and the indifference to human life, among the Ahts, that an owner might bring half a dozen slaves out of his house and kill them publicly in a row without any notice being taken of the atrocity. . . . The slave is at the absolute disposal of his master in all things; he is a bondservant who may be transferred without his own consent from one proprietor to another.

For Vancouver Island also, Kane<sup>4</sup> writes:

The master exercises the power of life and death over his slaves, whom he sacrifices at pleasure in gratification of any superstition or other whim of the moment.

While for the Chinook of the Columbia River the same author notes:<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> G. M. Sproat. *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, 1868, p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> P. Kane. *Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians*, 1839, p. 215.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182. But slavery on the whole coast, Kane says, as does Simpson, was "in its most cruel form." No wonder then that slaves acquired what Sproat describes as "a characteristically mean appearance" (Sproat, p. 89). Curtis, *The North American Indian*, v. 8, p. 88, says that among the Chinook slaves were treated kindly. But compare Kane, above, and Sproat, p. 91. Curtis was apparently given misinformation about head flattening of slaves, and the Indians probably misinformed him about their

Their slavery is of the most abject description. The Chinook men and women treat them with great severity, and exercise the power of life and death at pleasure.

Simpson was one of the earliest and most careful observers of aboriginal conditions on the Northwest Coast. Here is his reaction to the native treatment of native slaves, and his statement of their position:

These thralls are just as much the property of their masters as so many dogs, with this difference against them, that a man of cruelty and ferocity enjoys a more exquisite pleasure in tasking, starving, torturing, or killing a fellow-creature than in treating any of the lower animals in a similar way. . . . To eat without permission, in the very midst of an abundance which his toil has produced, is as much as his miserable life is worth. . . . But all this is nothing when compared with the purely wanton atrocities to which these most pitiable and helpless children of the human race are subjected. They are beaten, lacerated, and maimed; the mutilating of fingers and toes, the splitting of noses, the scooping out of eyes, being ordinary occurrences. They are butchered—without the excitement or the excuse of a gladiatorial combat—to make holidays. . . . What a proof of the degrading influence of oppression, that men should submit in life to treatment from which the black bondsmen of Cuba or Brazil would be glad to escape by suicide.<sup>6</sup>

Simpson was a Britisher of responsible position who lived in the days of European and American slavery, and not a fanatical abolitionist. There is little or no question that before the days of active European influence on the native culture of the

then discontinued slavery. I think two things are evident; that the slave's treatment depended on the kind of master he had; and that with a decrease of native population consequent upon the introduction of European diseases, pressure of population on food resources lessened, and this, with European disapproval of bad treatment of slaves, worked to ameliorate the slave's condition.

<sup>6</sup> G. Simpson. *Narrative of a Journey Around the World*, 1847, vol. 1, pp. 242-243. Cp. J. G. Swan. "The Indians of Cape Flattery," *Smithsonian Contributions*, 1869, p. 50; and F. Boas. "Tsimshian Mythology," *31st Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1916, p. 434.

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coast the picture was as dark as he has painted it. Moreover the treatment of enslaved captives among the Iroquois and other agricultural American tribes was equally as arbitrary and cruel.<sup>7</sup>

This is a picture of human nature in the stone age; but human nature without the artificial restraints of enlightened laws. Among the Aztecs, who have been pictured as the cruelest of unchristian peoples, on the other hand, the killing of a slave, even by a nobleman, was a capital crime. A slave, moreover, could not be transferred or sold without his own consent, save under certain conditions prescribed by law. Among the Mayas of Yucatan a fine was imposed for the killing of a slave.<sup>8</sup>

#### SKULL SHAPE AND RACE PREJUDICE

On a considerable stretch of the Northwest Coast where slavery was such an obtrusive social phenomenon, there was developed a means of socially and visibly branding slaves which is especially significant for comparative study. There was no very marked difference of racial or sub-racial type among the Indians of the coast. All were by nature brown-skinned, rather brachycephalic, and possessed of the typical mongoloid hair of the Indian, and, frequently, of the slant, mongoloid eye. But from southwestern Oregon northward to and including the northern Kwakiutl of British Columbia

for about one hundred miles, head deformation was practiced. The method used by the natives of the Puget Sound and southward, was to flatten the frontal bone until a straight line from the eyebrows to the rear of the parietal bones was obtained; the northern Kwakiutl added to this a lateral compression which resulted in a sugar-loaf type of head.<sup>9</sup> From our point of view this was horrible deformation, and ugly; from the Indian's point of view it was the attainment of the most perfect beauty.

The Kwakiutl and the Chinook appear to have represented two cultural centres where the deformation desired was of the extremest type, and among whom everyone must have the head extremely deformed. The greater the distance from these centers, the less the degree of deformation, and the less general the practice within the tribe. Only on the Columbia River and its tributaries did head flattening become of significance in moulding intertribal attitudes.

With these Columbia tribes every free-man's head had to have the maximum flattening. If a person's head had been neglected in infancy by a careless mother, the person "is treated with indifference and disdain." He or she can never reach high social position or political office. A flat head was considered a necessary mark of complete humanity; Indians of outside or foreign tribes, or even white men when first met with, are reported by the early observers to have been considered something less than exactly human; flatheadedness was "a necessary mark of humanity." So consistent was their attitude that they would not keep a flathead as a slave; the flattened head was considered the mark of the free-

<sup>7</sup> See especially examples in *The Jesuit Relations* (Thwaite's edition), v. 42, p. 137; and in La Hontan. *New Voyages*, 2nd edition, 1725, p. 50. Grignon says that slaves in the Great Lakes region were cruelly treated; he lived with these peoples a great many years, as did these cited above on the Iroquois and others. (A. Grignon. "Seventy-Two Years Recollections of Wisconsin, *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, v. 3, 1857, p. 257.)

<sup>8</sup> Nearly all Aztec slaves however were debtor slaves; our accounts of the legal guards of slaves' rights however do not except chattel slaves. Among the Mayas, however, there was more chattel slavery, and it was probably hereditary.

<sup>9</sup> See Boas. *Deformed Crania of the North Pacific Coast*, British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1890.



man; the round head the mark of the slave. The roundhead tribes generally preferred, on the other hand, to hold flathead slaves, and the slave trade made the exchange possible. Kane<sup>10</sup> writes that:

it is from amongst the roundheads that the flatheads take their slaves, looking with contempt even upon the whites for having round heads, the flathead being considered as the distinguishing mark of freedom.

Dunn writes:<sup>11</sup>

All their slaves, whom they have by purchase from the neighboring tribes, have round heads. Every child of a slave, if not adopted into the tribe by a member, must be left to nature. This deformity, therefore, is, consequently, a mark of their freedom.

An interesting rationalization is also reported:<sup>12</sup>

The reasons which those who possess slaves assign for flattening their own heads is that they may be distinguished from the slaves, who have round heads.

Head-flattening is, of course, an older institution than slavery, but the slave-owners had forgotten that.

Among the tribes of southeastern Vancouver Island, who were markedly divided into castes or social classes, the amount of headflattening permitted freemen by tribal law was proportioned to their social rank. The complete roundhead marked the slave; the complete flathead marked the king or tribal chief.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-182.

<sup>11</sup> D. J. Dunn. *Oregon*, 1844, p. 93. Cp. J. K. Townsend. *Narrative*, 1839, in Thwaite's *Western Travels*, v. 21, pp. 303-304. Townsend reports the typical, extreme, Chinook social attitude for the Lower Columbia and all its tributaries, including the Klickitat, Cayuse, and Kalapuya peoples.

<sup>12</sup> S. Parker. *Journal*, 1842, p. 197. Consult further, G. Gibbs. "Tribes of Oregon," *Smithsonian Contributions*, 1869, p. 197; G. Franchere. *Narrative*, 1854, p. 324; Lewis and Clarke. *Journal*, 1814, pp. 154-155. Also A. Hrdlicka. "Klamath Head Deformation," *American Anthropologist*, 1905, pp. 360-361.

<sup>13</sup> C. Hill-Tout. *Salish And Dene*, 1907, pp. 40, 165.

All this sounds like a new chapter for Dean Swift's story of Brobdingnag and other fabulous places. It is merely a case of truth being stranger than fiction. It is strange and pitiful in part by reason of its being true. "'Tis true, and pity 'tis, 'tis true.'" But stranger obsessions and delusions haunt us, and apologists lend to these delusions a pseudo-scientific gloss. America of the stone-age may help to interpret America of the steam age.

#### RUNAWAY SLAVES

Nieboer,<sup>14</sup> some years ago, spent much vain effort in trying to prove why hunting peoples are not inclined to keep slaves, stating among other things that they could not prevent them from running away. This thesis was due in part to one of his many oversights. In the eastern woodlands of North America,<sup>15</sup> and among the Chinook of the Columbia River,<sup>16</sup> for example, frequently the flesh of the sole of a slave's foot was so mutilated that not only would his or her flight be impeded, but their footmarks would be identifiable. Moreover, in the region of the flathead tribes, a slave was identifiable by his different head form. Various other tribes had still other means of distinguishing the slave runaway.<sup>17</sup> Besides, a large proportion of the slaves where hereditary slavery obtained were born into slavery in the tribe, without recollection of, and in fact without, a

<sup>14</sup> Nieboer. *Slavery As An Industrial System*, 1900, 1910.

<sup>15</sup> See my article "Debtor Slavery and Chattel Slavery in Aboriginal North America," *American Anthropologist*, 1925, no. 4 (in press).

<sup>16</sup> Curtis, *The North American Indian*, v. 8, 1910, p. 89.

<sup>17</sup> For example, on the Oregon coast they had the practice of "putting out an eye of a slave, in order that, if he escaped, he might be marked and known as such by the surrounding tribes." Allison. "The Similkameen Indians," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Great Britain, v. 21, 1892; Schoolcraft. *Archives*, 1869, v. 5, p. 651.

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home elsewhere. And finally, it was the usual practice to seek children captives for enslavement, that they might lose recollection or knowledge of their home tribe.<sup>18</sup>

On the Northwest Coast especially was it difficult for a slave to run away; as nearly as impossible as it was for a negro slave in the United States of former years. Any slave who did flee his own masters would most likely be picked up by others. Gibbs writes for the Sound and Columbia tribes that "a runaway slave is generally seized and resold by the first tribe he meets."<sup>19</sup> And Sproat writes for Vancouver Island:<sup>20</sup>

A runaway slave, if belonging to a chief, is occasionally returned, through courtesy, by the chief of another friendly tribe; but more frequently he is seized and immediately conveyed along the coast for sale, the captors being unwilling to risk the hostility of the owner by detaining him.

If a slave did run away and reach his home tribe, generally he was socially ostracised at home and his life made little bearable; he was both stigmatized for having ignominiously permitted himself to be captured, rather than having committed suicide on the field, and stigmatized because he had been a slave. Only if he was so badly wounded on the field that he could not help himself was he forgiven.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless among the more

mercenary tribes of the coast a certain amount of ransoming took place.

Slaves, however, did sometimes flee their masters, although so usually caught. Jewitt for the Nootka states that a runaway caught and returned was invariably put to death;<sup>22</sup> in Sproat's day among the same people the punishment usually was merely whipping.<sup>23</sup> Simpson, for the southern Tsimshian of British Columbia illustrates the fact that there might be lenient as well as severe masters. In one village the rival of the paramount chief, Quatekoy by name, a very enterprising and ambitious individual, was unusually lenient with his slaves. Rather than kill them at potlatches, he would emancipate them. When an escaped slave of his was caught, he would forgive rather than kill him. His lenience to runaways curiously enough resulted in the fact that his slaves attempted escape more than those of harsher slave owners. On one visit to the village Simpson found that while most of the villagers had gone to the interior to trade and hunt, and Shakes, the paramount chief, was also off hunting, the lenient Quatekoy was off on a profitless search after six of his runaway slaves!<sup>24</sup>

Finally, it reminds us of the annals of our own slave days when we read that in a cove of Greenville Channel in British Columbia, among the Tsimshian tribes, there was a tribe or village under the chief Sebassamen, "a numerous tribe which was said to consist in great measure of runaway slaves, whom the chief . . . always received with open arms."<sup>25</sup>

for not having died rather than be captured; see Zurita, *Rapport*, 1540, in Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages*, Ser. 2, v. 1, p. 120; and Ternaux-Compans, *Recueil des Pièces*, v. 6, p. 6.

<sup>18</sup> Jewitt, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>19</sup> Sproat, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>20</sup> Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>18</sup> For example, Curtis, *op. cit.*, p. 88, notes for the Chinook, that slaves "nearly always had been taken young and reared in the tribe so that all recollection of the parent tribe was lost, and there was no desire to escape."

<sup>19</sup> Gibbs, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

<sup>20</sup> Sproat, *op. cit.*, p. 91. Cp. also Jewitt. *Narrative*, 1815, p. 90.

<sup>21</sup> See Iroquois and Haida data in MacLeod, *op. cit.*, 1925. Also on the Sioux, see Cadillac, *Relation*, Section 5; La Hontan, *op. cit.* (Thwaite's edition), v. 2, p. 504. Among the Aztecs, a captured chief who should flee and return home would be sacrificed

## A NEW FIELD FOR THE NEGRO SOCIAL WORKER IN THE SOUTH

HELEN B. PENDLETON

FOR nearly a generation, the Charity Organization workers of the United States have been developing the means of procuring from country communities information concerning their clients who have moved from rural neighborhoods to cities. Relatives, friends and former employers, if interviewed tactfully and understandingly, often give information and other help leading to the solution of the difficulty confronting the city social workers who are trying to help fit the newcomer into his environment.

This service is volunteer service, depending for its success upon the intelligence, good will and persistence of the club-woman, teacher, minister, lawyer, postmaster, or other citizens asked to undertake the kindly office.

Sometimes the correspondent has had some contact or short course in social work which insures prompt, if not always helpful replies. It has proved in some states to be seed scattered upon good ground, and real social work has sprung up in the community as a consequence. That this work is being developed in the South for both races is a sign of the remarkable stirring of the social conscience evinced in the last decade. But at its best in all sections of the country, there is almost always the further need of educating the correspondents at both ends of the line.

City social workers generally fail to visualize rural life in the far South. A Yorkshire moor or an Edgdon Heath furnish to some minds classic descriptions of rural isolation. But unless one has actually travelled in the South, it would take a master hand in literary description to picture the long stretches of desolation in the Wire Grass Country or black belt sections. "Riding the Turpentine Woods" is the loneliest task ever allotted to man,

one thinks, and in the cotton belt, and hills of the Northwest, the gray Negro cabins propped up on brick stilts just high enough to allow children, dogs and chickens to disport themselves underneath, seem as inaccessible as a lighthouse in a storm when the red gullies called roads leading to them are washed by winter rains. For sometimes it rains and rains!

Besides these lone country dwellings, dotted all over the South are innumerable little settlements which can only by courtesy be called villages, and which are also outside the gates of that sophisticated world in which the modern social worker lives. And so when recently about one-hundred Forwarding Center letters from northern cities were read which asked information about colored migrants or their relatives and references, some interesting and educational material was found which might be used in legitimate "passing on" to students of this important branch of social case-work.

While it is not surprising that the city worker, accustomed to the dispatch with which such matters are handled in inter-urban correspondence, should become somewhat impatient and critical at the delay and inadequacy of this country service in the South, on the other hand, it must be admitted that applied rural sociology is not usually included in the training of city case workers. A number of letters from the city agencies show that the young city experts need some practice work in the art of explaining the plan they have for their clients in a more simple and human way so that it will appeal to the rural mind. Country people are individualistic and conservative and as yet have only the rudiments of social case work theory and it would be impossible for a rural judge of the Ord-

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nary's Court, or even the Chairman of the County Social Service League to understand what is in the mind of the inquirer who scatters involved and seemingly unrelated questions down the typewritten page in the fashion of letters read lately.

One writer announces at the end of a long letter: "We shall not consider returning family to place of legal residence without first determining relative value of such a scheme." One can almost hear the class discussion group of case-work students in the training school bent upon turning out technicians. But the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and the county correspondent did not reply. Most of the Forwarding Center letters are merely a revelation of the tribulations which have overtaken the Negro family in the city and, very naturally, the inquiries are directed toward getting information and help for the city problem; but there is too often revealed a correspondingly tragic situation in the country which should have skilled and kindly treatment there. And half of these letters are so much wasted paper, postage, time and thought, for they either remain unanswered, or the references are not found, or the interviewer gets no information of value. Of the others, simple categorical questions like the verification of court records or whether relatives would or would not help were usually answered, but the persuasion and study and local social work almost always needed went by the board. Not that these good white people expressed unkindliness toward the Negroes they were asked to visit. Only four out of the one hundred answers were hostile, but they simply did not see any problem there to be helped, taking the situations revealed in these Negro families as a matter of course.

It is only fair to say that this attitude of mind is too often revealed in the letters

about white people also, but we are beginning to see that education in social work must also extend to the Negro population, if we want to get anywhere in the task of bringing about better understanding and square dealing between the races in the South.

This does not imply that white correspondents should be discouraged from rendering service to the poor Negroes around them. The races are too closely linked in the South for that, and the coöperation of the white employer, the lawyer, the Judge of the Ordinary's Court, and the Juvenile Court, as well as the kindly white woman with a growing social vision, will be none the less needed, and must continue if real social work is to be accomplished. But the sheaf of human suffering tied up in these letters shows the absolute need of inspiring the best type of colored people in the South to seek the education in social work which will enable them to render effective service to their own people.

The conditions merely hinted at in the following case indicate a tragic situation which might have been helped if a live, fine-spirited colored woman who had learned the simplest sort of technique in family case-work had been on the job. On January 7, 1925, a letter was received from a Northern city, stating that a colored woman, a widow, was working as a domestic in that city. She had one child, a boy of eight, with her, but she was worried about her other child, a girl of fifteen who was with relatives in a rural community, because she had heard a rumor that the child had been "mistreated." She asked the Family Welfare Society to find out the truth regarding this because she wanted both of the children with her. This letter was immediately forwarded to the volunteer correspondent in the country. On February 5th, the following

letter was received from a refined, cultured correspondent who was "President of Social Service Work" in that county. After apologizing for the delay in the reply on account of illness, she said:

I have not been able to see Pansy Green personally, but best authority among colored people, and I find that they generally think she is treated very kindly and has a good home. Just about the time I received your letter she gave birth to a child which she claimed was forced upon her by an uncle that she lives with. Colored authority seemed to doubt this. We can't ever tell about these things. I understand that the baby died soon after and that she is no longer at Blank. If I can find better information concerning her, I'll be glad to do so.

Of course, we realize that this good lady, just recovering from an illness, and sending out inquiries probably through the usual servant medium, could not get better information, especially as she is convinced that "we can't ever tell about these things." But suppose that neighborhood had a Jeanes' Teacher in it who had taken a course in Social Work. That teacher would know, not only what to find out and how to go about it, but also how to take steps to see that the unfortunate child was sent to her mother.

If the Jeanes' Teacher couldn't or wouldn't do it, then the County Nurse, if there was one, might have taken up such a case. For in rural communities there cannot be the family or health agencies and specialists that we have in the cities, and the teacher or health worker in the country must be called upon to do family and child welfare work, too, or their teaching and health work will not function properly.

Until we can have trained family case-workers in every county in the state, these other specialists already in the field should be helped to broaden their knowledge so that they may be able to give these seemingly simple services to their people, which somehow are never

accomplished unless the worker has had a good, stiff course in social case-work.

In spite of the fact that rural colored people in the South are usually very poor, these letters show that relatives rarely refuse to help their own people, almost invariably offering to receive the migrants back home, and also sending money when they have it.

One mother sent her delicate daughter who had a sick husband and four children as much as \$150.00 in the year 1924. A correspondent writes of this mother February 8, 1925:

I didn't intend waiting so long to write concerning Rachel Powell, but I have been quite sick and was unable to see about this. Rachel says she has sent Maggie money and will send more right away. She seems anxious to have Maggie come nearer home so she can look after her better.

A man who was ill with tuberculosis was sent to an aunt who, the correspondent said, had a good home and would care for him.

Another letter concerning a tubercular man says:

I visited the home of — and they are willing to take care of their son, if he comes home. They live on a small farm, but have no ready money to bring the son home, but have plenty of food to live on. The house is very neat and clean. There is a porch on which the tubercular patient could be very comfortable. The K's have a good reputation in the neighborhood, and seemed anxious to have their son come home. Amanda's mother is willing to help her daughter any way she can by letting her and child have a home with her and her husband, until she is able to care for herself.

There are many other human documents concerning successful work with relatives but when it comes to the difficulties involved in adjusting trouble between husband and wife, including desertion and non-support which always weigh heavily in the social worker's daily burden, we find no worth while efforts to help the city situation. The common belief that a woman can support her children entirely and another fixed idea

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Georgia has no law regarding legal residence. Oglethorpe's followers belong to the State from the moment they arrive, unless they wish to vote, but it nevertheless seems most difficult to persuade these country correspondents to realize that Georgia has a duty to care for her own dependents. The Northern social worker too seems anxious to get rid of the newcomers on the slightest pretext and we seem at times to be looking on at a Battle-dore and Shuttlecock game between the two sections over helpless people. When able-bodied Negroes wish to come back to work, however, they will find a welcome. A lesson has been learned from the migration of thousands of willing and skilled farm laborers, and we read: "These are very honorable and trusty Negroes, and Abbeville would like to have them back."

A very final and definite reaction occurs in the answer from a lady who had received three letters at once asking information about three different families:

I am willing at all times to assist you in your worthy work, but when it comes to locating the kith and kin of all the Negroes who left this section, with the meager information they will give, it is impossible to reach a definite end, and is a task no human being can accomplish.

In view of these Forwarding Letters, we believe that the task is not impossible if we seek and find the intelligent colored

people in these communities and help them to get the requisite training in social work.

The Atlanta School of Social Work which is training young colored people for social work in the South is often asked whether students can be trained for rural work at such a school, because it is in the second largest city in the South, and "rural problems" people say, are not "city problems." Of course, they are not, we agree in reply, but we further add that it is the point of view which can be learned anywhere and the technique which can best be learned in the crowded city that really count in social work. And if this practice work is learned in a Southern city, into which country people are pouring, it should be quite as effective when performed out in the open country, thirty miles from Piggly-Wiggly or Nifty-Jifty stores as when one is just around the corner from these instantaneous pantry-fillers for the thrifty.

The South is predominantly a vast rural country. It will be the home of millions of Negroes for generations to come. Most of them are now so poor and so ignorant that the slightest misfortune may throw them over into dependency or delinquency. Isn't it time that training in social work should be extended to those of the race who by temperament and education are fitted to become leaders in social welfare?

## GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

The ingenuous American, armed with charity for all men and a profound pride in his own way of life, is apt to consider that other people are just like himself, or would be if they had the chance. Hence our unhappy talent for "Mis-

understanding Europe," which Langdon Mitchell laments in the *August Century*. But in point of fact races are fundamentally different as to manners, moral codes, ways of thinking, and ideals; and in this deep diversity lies much of the charm and



excitement of life. The foremost European nations have much to teach us, and if we do not fully understand them we can at least sympathize, enjoy, and often admire. To our rather uncritical goodwill we need to add the intelligence of discrimination, studying and appreciating the genius of other peoples, and above all holding to the supreme importance, whether among men or races, of the principle of individuality.

It is not often that social welfare agencies have their faults pointed out so frankly and honestly as S. A. Gutowski has done in *Scribner's* for July. After five years spent in this country as a Polish immigrant without learning English he attended the American International College at Springfield, Massachusetts, and afterwards spent several years of settlement work in Boston. The college, a friendly oasis of sixteen racial groups in a desert of indifference or ridicule, he regards as one of the finest possible means of genuinely Americanizing the more ambitious foreigners, and urges that others like it be opened. The settlements, however, he found were run largely for the sake of the professional or volunteer staff, and to the immigrants they seemed prying if not spying agencies that were to be looked on with distrust or contempt. "Through the Mill of Americanization" is the title of his arraignment.

More frank and courageous speaking on race. "The Last Taboo," as Albert Guérard sees it in the June issue of the same magazine, is social equality between the blacks and the whites, and their consequent free intermarriage. The South, he says, maintains the only consistent position: unless we are prepared to go the full length in social and domestic intimacy, the Negro must be considered

in all respects a lower race and kept strictly in his place. What basis in fact has the South's prejudice? Those who are willing to argue the matter insist that intermarriage is against divine law, that it is a perversion of nature, that the hybrid product is inferior to both the parent stocks, and that the result would be a dead level of uniformity in which distinct ethnic contributions to culture would be lost. Science alone can pronounce on these assertions; with our present information they must still be held "not proven."

This final bar to racial equality is clearly analyzed in *Opportunity* for June by Edward Franklin Frazier. In the past, social distinctions have been caused and maintained by civil distinctions, but since emancipation the color, economic dependence, and lower intellectual level of the Negroes have combined to degrade them into a distinct caste. Their status varies greatly in different respects and in different parts of the country. The building up of an isolated and self-sufficient culture will be only a temporary and partial adjustment, since public institutions and utilities cannot be duplicated for their benefit. The way out is through that complete intercourse which cannot fail to destroy the caste spirit—an intercourse likely to come in economic life by the merging of the Negroes' cause with that of labor, and in cultural life by universal education of an adequate type.

The advantages and dangers of self-sufficiency are well illustrated in a sketch of the town of Boley, Oklahoma, by R. Edgar Iles from the August issue. The largest of some 70 communities in 19 states, North and South, which are owned, inhabited, and controlled entirely by Negroes, it has a healthy mercantile

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and educational life, the first Negro national bank in the country, and boasts an exceptional interest in local politics and government. Towns such as this offer an outlet for repressions and wounded race pride and give considerable economic opportunity, but they are isolated from the main currents of progress and tend to produce a suspicious or hostile attitude toward white people. They cannot be said to suggest any real solution for the race problem in this country.

Last spring Gerald W. Johnson gave us a provocative picture of the battling South. His "Tilt with Southern Wind-Mills" in the *Virginia Quarterly Review* for July shows how that section has traded in all genuine political principles for the privilege of maintaining a white man's government. The most hazardous and thankless labor of its present renaissance is living down the reputation of wanting to thrust the Negro back into slavery. Inter-racial conferences, school-houses, and additional safeguards of civil rights will have to counteract the influence of lynchings, riots, and the Klan. Equality of economic opportunity and freedom before the law are ideals toward which the South is fitfully but sincerely working—ideals that involve the surrender by the dominant race of a considerable share of its present advantage.

Equality of economic opportunity, yes; but not civil freedom nor political power, asserts Robert W. Winston by way of rejoinder in the July *Current History*. As he argues convincingly, slavery was

the greatest handicap of the old South, and in spite of the amazing material prosperity that has come during recent years, the presence of the Negro remains the greatest handicap of the new. Not in anger or malice, but deliberately, the South has put the black man down and intends to keep him socially a pariah and politically a slave, knowing well that any real privilege cannot but lead to race mongrelization. For the time being he must be educated, protected from violence, and taught to earn a good living, but in the end peaceful and gradual dispersion to the Caribbean islands, Northern Africa, or Brazil will prove the only real solution. He has become a national problem, not a Southern.

The story of a courageous fight against odds, which has resulted in a close and still precarious victory, is told by Judge Lindsay of the Denver Juvenile Court in the *Survey* for June 1. The invisible government of the Klan has become the visible government of Colorado, he declares, and during a wave of political corruption and racial intolerance that swept the state last fall his office was almost the only one to avoid falling into the hands of reactionary forces. . . . In two years the Mexican invasion of the Southwest has more than quadrupled. An alarming proportion of the new arrivals become social charges. Charles A. Thomson asks for an intelligent policy that will satisfy the economic needs of that section and at the same time protect and allow for the education of the immigrants.

## GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### THE COLLAPSE OF THE FARMER-LABOR BLOC

FRED E. HAYNES

THE fall of prices of farm products in 1920 and 1921 produced a new crop of agitators among the farmers who had been relatively quiet and prosperous since the Populist uprising of the nineties. The influence of this agitation first manifested itself politically in the state and congressional elections of 1922 and 1923 with the result that there was a good deal of discussion as to the possibility of a "farmer-labor bloc."

Many attempts have been made to form such combinations. Ever since the seventies of the last century there have been organized from time to time farmer and labor parties and their leaders have realized that a union of the two groups would give political control. So far these efforts have produced no permanent results.

In 1878 an alliance between the Labor Reform and Greenback parties was completed at a meeting at Toledo, Ohio. The Labor Reform party was an early effort on the part of workingmen in the East to gain political power, while the Greenback party arose in the West where conditions were favorable to the growth of a party that emphasized monetary and financial measures. Separately these movements were too weak to have much influence. United they might form the nucleus for an independent party that would hold the balance of power between the Republicans and Democrats and possi-

bly result in the formation of a party strong enough to replace one of the older parties.

Delegates were present at Toledo from twenty-eight states. The preamble to the platform described the union to be for the purpose of securing financial reform and industrial emancipation. The organization was to be known as the National party, but it was commonly referred to as the Greenback Labor party.

The year 1878 witnessed the greatest strength for an independent or third party movement up to that time. Only congressional and state elections occurred, but they indicated a growth in votes for the new party from 82,640 in 1876 to 1,000,365. Over 500,000 votes were contributed by ten states of the West, while 350,000 were cast by Eastern states. The relative strength of the two branches of the party are roughly shown by the division of the vote between the two sections of the country. In 1880 the candidate for President of the party received 308,578 votes.

Evidently the expectations aroused by the great vote of 1878 were not to be realized immediately. The result was that the more conservative and the more practical of the independents drifted back into their former party relations. The years from 1880 to 1890 were crucial years in American politics. The climax of the

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Greenback Labor movement had passed and the forces that were to form the next grouping of independents were slowly taking shape. Between 1884 and 1888 there was an attempt to organize the radical elements of the country under labor leadership.

The most important of these new labor parties were formed at Cincinnati in 1887 by delegates "from the labor and farmers' organizations, including the Knights of Labor, the Agricultural Wheelers, the Corn-growers, the Homesteadry, Farmers' Alliances, Greenbackers, and Grangers." The party was known as the Union Labor party and placed tickets in the field in several states in 1887 and in "nearly all the Western States," in 1888. Woodburn in his *Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States* described it as "formed by a union of the Greenback Labor party, of rural constituency, with the city trades-union organizations which have been demanding labor and industrial reforms." Only about 150,000 votes were cast for the candidate for President of the party in 1888. The bulk of the vote came from the West and the South, as had the vote of previous radical and reform parties. The Union Labor Party was to a large extent merely a new name for the Greenback Labor party. The presence in the party of many of the leaders of the earlier party supports such an opinion. It failed as have all attempts down to the present time to unite effectively the radicals of the West and South with similar groups in the industrial sections of the East. The farmer-labor bloc failed in connection with both the Greenback Labor and Union Labor parties.

In December, 1889, at St. Louis an agreement was arranged between committees representing the Farmers' Alliance, the lading organization in the formation of the Populist party, and the

Knights of Labor. The agreement was signed by eighteen delegates from the former organization and by three from the latter—the numerical relation roughly corresponding to the comparative strength of the two main elements composing the new radical party that was in process of formation. The Knights of Labor were declining, while the Federation of Labor was unrepresented. The farmers were the backbone and major portion of the new reform movement. The chief influences that led to the organization of the Populist party in 1891 were to be found in the conditions in the West and South particularly in the years immediately preceding its formation. Labor representatives merely coöperated in the new farmers' movement in an advisory and sympathetic manner.

During 1890 there was joint action by the Farmers' Alliance and the Knights of Labor in Nebraska and South Dakota. Representatives of the Patrons of Industry, the Farmers' Alliance and various labor organizations formed the Industrial party in Michigan. In Indiana "delegates representing the former Greenback Labor party, the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, the Farmers' Alliance, the Grange and other farmer organizations assembled at Indianapolis to form a new party in the interests of the agricultural classes." In Colorado delegates from "the Farmers' Alliance, the Union Labor and other organizations agreed upon an independent fusion ticket for State officers." All these organizations came into existence before the call for the formation of a national party because of unsatisfactory conditions in the agricultural regions. The share of labor was a very minor one.

The successes won by the farmers in the various states of the West and South in November, 1890, made certain an attempt to form a new national party ready to

take part in the next presidential campaign. A call for a conference to consider the organization of such a party was issued in December and it invited the "Independent, the People's and Union Labor parties, the Farmer's Alliance, the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, the Citizens' Alliance, the Knights of Labor" and all other organizations that supported "the principles of the St. Louis agreement of December, 1889," to send delegates.

At the Cincinnati Conference in May, 1891, which formed the Populist party, Mr. T. V. Powderly, Grand Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, was present, but not as a delegate. He was also present and spoke at a meeting of reform organizations held at St. Louis in February, 1892. The membership of the assembly approximated 750, distributed as follows: 246 delegates from the Farmers' Alliance, 53 from the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, 82 from the Knights of Labor, 97 from the National Farmers' Alliance, 25 from the National Citizens' Alliance, 97 from the Colored Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, 27 from the National Citizens' Independent Alliance, 60 Patrons of Industry, 25 Patrons of Husbandry and the balance from a number of minor organizations. During the discussions in the conference protests were "made against the Powderly-Hayes domination."

When the nominating convention of the Populist party met at Omaha in July, 1892, a large element in the assembly, including Powderly and Hayes of the Knights of Labor, hoped to induce Judge Walter Q. Gresham, a prominent Republican, to accept the nomination for President. It was only after a final refusal was received from Judge Gresham that General James B. Weaver of Iowa received the nomination. General Weaver was nominated by M. L. Wheat, who had been head of the first district assembly

of the Knights of Labor of Iowa and was also a member of the national board of labor officials under Powderly. J. R. Sovereign, the successor of Powderly as Grand Master Workman, who had also been head of the Iowa Assembly and Labor Commissioner, was a Democrat who allied himself with the Populists on account of his free silver and radical views.

Undoubtedly many workingmen in all parts of the country supported the Populist candidates, but there is no definite indication of any formal alliance between the farmers and labor organizations. It was a farmers' movement strong enough to attract the attention of the two older parties. There is no evidence of an effort to form any kind of a farmer-labor bloc such as occurred in the Greenback Labor party. The decline of the Knights of Labor was hastened by its excursions into politics. Mr. Powderly's defeat in 1893 was probably partly due to enmities stirred up by his political activity. Mr. Gompers's rigid refusal to enter the political arena has been determined by the fate of the Knights of Labor. The Federation of Labor learned from the experience of the older organization.

The tradition that labor organizations in this country must avoid political entanglements and confine themselves to industrial action has been the foundation for the policy of the American Federation under the direction of Mr. Gompers. His supremacy of over forty years, compared with the retirement of Mr. Powderly after only fifteen years of leadership, has seemed to justify American Labor hostility to political action. Their attainments have been in a narrower field; their social vision may be criticized; but very probably their success has been chiefly due to their restraint.

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tions to undertake independent political action until within the last few years. Naturally there has been no occasion to attempt the formation of any kind of a combination between workingmen and any other groups or classes in the community. Many members of trade unions probably supported the progressive movement in the different states and the Progressive party of 1912, but no distinct organization of workers had a place in these political activities. The social workers represented the interests of the rank and file and their contributions appeared in the social and industrial program included in the platform of the party. Class lines have not been drawn in our politics and the "bloc" or group plan of Europe has only recently been introduced into the United States.

In November, 1918, an Independent Labor party was launched by the Chicago Federation of Labor and a platform was adopted for submission to the Illinois State Federation and to the American Federation of Labor in the hope of forming a labor party for the country as a whole with local organizations in every state. In April, 1919, the new party polled over 50,000 votes for its candidate for mayor in the Chicago Municipal election.

Later in the same month six hundred delegates assembled at the state capital and organized the Labor party of Illinois. In November of the same year, twelve hundred representatives met in Chicago to form the Labor party of the United States. Thirty-seven states and forty labor organizations were represented and fraternal delegates were present from the Nonpartisan League, the Committee of Forty-eight and a couple of other non-labor associations.

A second convention was held in Chicago in July, 1920, and the Farmer-Labor

party formed after vain efforts upon the part of various groups of "liberals" to organize a more moderate party and to get the labor men to unite with them. These "liberals" were known as the "Committee of Forty-eight." Their leaders were lawyers, students and writers. They were the "intellectuals" who were dissatisfied with the leadership of the old parties and with the political and economic situation of the country. Their aim was a new party similar to the Progressive party of 1912, but uniting liberals or progressives with the more radical elements of the Labor party. The labor delegates voted usually as a unit on all measures proposed by their leaders, while the liberals acted as individuals. The addition of the word Farmer to the party name did not alter its character as a class party with a platform making no appeal to the American people as a whole or to the farmer as a class.

The Farmer-Labor party was controlled by the leaders of a small labor group who have been opposed to the conservative leadership of the American Federation of Labor. Parley P. Christensen of Utah and Max Hayes of Ohio were nominated for president and vice-president. The candidate for vice-president was the socialist candidate for president of the Federation against Gompers ten years ago.

Christensen and Hayes received about 250,000 votes as compared with 900,000 for the Socialist candidate and 200,000 for the Prohibition standard-bearer. The states of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Montana, New York, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, and Washington contributed over 10,000 votes each—Washington, Illinois and South Dakota leading with 77,246, 49,630 and 37,707 respectively. The failure of the party to gain significant results was due to its narrow class character combined with the wave of



reaction which produced the enormous Republican majority.

Down to 1920, therefore, there have been no successful efforts to form any kind of a permanent merger of reform and radical elements in the country. More or less chronic dissatisfaction with the functioning of the two older parties has failed to result in anything more definite than the Progressive movement and the Progressive party. Successive agrarian agitations have arisen since the seventies and have disappeared with the passing of the acute causes of unrest and protest. Is there anything more fundamental and far-reaching in recent developments that warrants the expectation that these disturbances will prove more lasting? Are there any grounds for assuming that there are better prospects now for the formation of a permanent farmer-labor bloc than in the past? Are conditions in the United States more or less favorable to the growth of a party similar to the British Labor party?

In 1922 radical candidates of both the major parties in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Montana, Oklahoma, Nebraska, North Dakota, and Washington were supported "by a close combination between organized farmers and union workers." This combination of forces was probably due chiefly to the activities of the Non-partisan League, which originated in North Dakota in 1915. Organizers started work in western Minnesota in July, 1916, immediately after the success in the primaries of that year in North Dakota. Soon after work began in the northern tier of counties of South Dakota and in Eastern Montana. By 1920 the League claimed a membership of over 200,000 persons in thirteen Western states. North Dakota and Minnesota contained nearly half the members, while South Dakota and Montana furnished

about half of the remainder. Only a quarter of the membership was spread through the other nine states.

Minnesota has been the state in which developments have been most significant. It is represented in the present Congress by two Farmer-Labor Senators, just twenty years after the last of the Populist Senators gave up his place. This revolt against the old parties is not so sudden an outbreak as people outside the Northwest assume it to be. The ground was well prepared for the Non-partisan League by the American Society of Equity, an educational organization along coöperative lines. It was largely responsible for the Equity Coöperative Exchange of St. Paul, a farmers' coöperative grain commission company that has handled millions of bushels of grain during the last ten years and has been of great value to the farmers in their struggle for economic freedom.

In 1919 the Working People's Non-partisan Political League was organized "to unite members of organized and unorganized labor into a political league." In 1920 and in 1922 the Non-partisan League and the Working People's League held their conventions at the same time and in adjacent halls. Committees conferred regarding platform and candidates and a complete ticket was endorsed by both conventions. The vote for Governor in 1918, 1920 and 1922 shows the growth of the Farmers-Labor strength. The vote was as follows:

	REPUB- LICAN	DEMO- CRAT	FARMER- LABOR	PER CENT OF TOTAL
1918	166,515	76,793	111,948	30
1920	415,805	81,293	281,402	36
1922	309,756	79,903	295,479	43

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Labor vote. This can be accounted for in a large measure by the improvement in the political organization of the city workers.

Another state in which recent political developments have attracted national attention is Iowa. The election of Smith W. Brookhart to the United States Senate in 1922 was the result of a combination of farmers and laborers very similar to the farmer-labor fusion in Minnesota. Brookhart, however, was the regular nominee of the Republican party.

In 1920 Brookhart made a very vigorous campaign in the Republican primary against Senator Cummins obtaining 96,000 to 115,000 votes for his opponent. This large vote was the result of a carefully planned farmer-labor fusion. Letters were sent to all members of the state federation of labor, to railroad union men, to the members of the farmers' union and of the Equity Society. Although no formal alliance has been developed between farmers and laborers in Iowa, there is no doubt of the existence of such a combination in 1920. The close vote by which Senator Cummins won his re-nomination is striking evidence of the possibilities of joint action. Senator Cummins was unable to campaign in his usual vigorous fashion and his connection with the passage of the Transportation Act of 1920 exposed him to the hostility of both groups.

The primary campaign of 1920 proved to be only preliminary to the struggle waged two years later for the seat made vacant by the resignation of Senator Kenyon. The same forces were united, the prestige of a sitting senator was lacking and the management of the opposition to Brookhart was exceptionally unwise. The entrance of a large number of candidates hostile to Brookhart only seemed to concentrate attention upon him. Instead

of throwing the nomination into the state convention as his opponents planned, it resulted in his obtaining more than the 35 per cent of the votes required by the primary election law of the state. The votes cast for the Republican candidates were as follows:

Brookhart.....	133,102
Thorne.....	52,783
Pickett.....	51,047
Francis.....	38,691
Sweet.....	35,406
Stanley.....	12,593

Brookhart carried seventy-six out of ninety-nine counties and he ran second in twenty of the other twenty-three counties. Evidently his nomination was not an accidental victory, but was the result of deliberate planning aided by a favorable combination of circumstances. Clifford Thorne, his nearest competitor, polled over 50,000 votes. He entered the contest late and he was bitterly attacked by Brookhart's supporters for bad faith in opposing an old friend. His large vote represented opinions not fundamentally different from those of Brookhart. It confirms the conclusion that the Iowa electorate acted deliberately.

Brookhart's nomination as a Republican did not alter the fact that he was really the representative of a farmer-labor group in Iowa. Non-partisan action is characteristic of bloc activity. Economic lines determine divisions under bloc action rather than political alignments. Brookhart had become the mouthpiece of the protests of the farmers against the conditions in which they found themselves. Labor sympathized and voted with the farmers. Consequently his vote was large both in rural counties and also in those where there were large urban centers. An economic bloc replaced the usual political divisions.

The November election was merely a

ratification of the June primary so far as the senatorial situation was concerned. A small group of Republican conservatives bolted Brookhart and voted for Herring, the Democratic candidate. Brookhart received 389,751 votes to 227,833 for Herring. He carried all but five counties out of the total ninety-nine. His vote was smaller, however, than the vote cast for the Republican candidate for Governor who received 419,648 votes, while Herring ran ahead of the Democratic candidate for Governor, who received only 175,252 votes.

In Kansas in 1922 a Democratic Governor was elected in a state that is usually Republican. Governor Henry J. Allen had served the customary two terms and was not a candidate for reelection. His record, however, on the industrial court and on high taxes became the central issue of the campaign. High taxes made certain the country vote against any candidate endorsed by Allen. The industrial court did the same thing with the workingmen, especially on the railroads and in the mines. Hard times caused the usual reaction against the party in power. It was a year for a "dirt-farmer" with radical leanings. Jonathan M. Davis, the Democratic candidate, posed as a farmer and representative of the common people. He carried the farm districts on agrarian issues and won the city and town workingmen on the industrial court issue. A combination of accidental circumstances resulted in a farmer-labor union which elected a Democratic Governor.

Thus in the three states of Minnesota, Iowa, and Kansas, a combination of farmers and workingmen resulted in the election of two Farmer-Labor Senators, a Republican Senator and a Democratic Governor. What is the significance of these outcomes? It indicates plainly that the tradition of party loyalty is disappear-

ing but it also holds out little hope for those who pin their faith to a new third party.

Farmers and city workingmen frequently vote together but in policies they are usually opposed. The farmers want lower freight rates, while the railroad employees demand higher wages. Daylight saving fits the needs of city workingmen, but is anathema to the farmers. Higher prices for farm products do not seem reasonable to the workers in our cities. The farmer is individualistic and capitalistic in his sympathies. He is group-conscious, but not class-conscious. Only when some emergency arises does he turn to the state for help.

The Greenback Labor and Union Labor parties, already referred to earlier in this paper, disappeared as soon as the conditions, which led to their formation, were changed by economic developments or by legislative measures. The resumption of specie payments in 1879 settled the currency problem for the time. The Union Labor party proved premature and only slightly helped to prepare the way for the Populist party. Other earlier agitations failed to reach the state of organization. In spite of numerous attempts to form a substantial and permanent combination of farmers and laborers, no such organization has ever had more than a temporary success.

Before a farmer-labor combination can seriously threaten the two major parties a majority of the farmers and industrial workers must have been united in strong and permanent economic organizations. The railway-men, the united miners and farmers organizations played the chief part in the victories in November, 1922. These organizations in the long run must furnish the basis for any effective political movement. A sufficient foundation has not as yet been made throughout the

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country among industrial workers and farmers. Minnesota has more nearly attained these requirements and that state has the only two Farmer-Labor Senators.

The accession to power of the Labor party in England suggests the question as to whether a similar radical party in the United States will evolve out of the present unrest and discontent. Conditions are so unlike in the two countries that any comparison seems futile. Differences in conditions and population need only to be indicated. No organization like the English Fabian society has been at work for a generation, studying social and economic problems and developing a constructive program for the future, comparable to "Labor and the New Social Order," adopted by the British Labor Party in 1918.

The presidential campaign of 1924 produced the most important effort yet made to form a farmer-labor bloc in the United States. The conference for Progressive Political Action was formed at Chicago in February, 1922 as a result of a call issued by a committee representing the heads of sixteen railway unions. Later meetings were held in December, 1922, and in February, 1924, at which arrangements were made for a convention of "workers, farmers and progressives" to be held at Cleveland July 4. The resolution declared that the meeting should be "for the purpose of taking action on the nomination of candidates for the offices of President and Vice President and on other questions that may come before it." The convention was planned to follow the sessions of the Republican and Democratic conventions and left the way open to indorse one of the candidates nominated by the major parties, or to name an independent candidate.

After the nomination of President Coolidge by the Republicans, and

before the end of the unprecedented struggle in the Democratic convention which resulted in the nomination of Mr. Davis, Senator La Follette indicated his willingness to run as an independent candidate for the Presidency, and his announcement was indorsed by the Conference for Progressive Political Action at Cleveland July 5. His candidacy was also indorsed by the Socialist Party and by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor. Senator Burton H. Wheeler of Montana, a Democrat, was induced to accept the candidacy for Vice-President. Senators La Follette and Wheeler had been members of the progressive or agricultural bloc which has been active in Congress since early in 1921. This group of progressives and radicals has held the balance of power because of the narrow Republican majority in both Houses. Senator La Follette was the recognized leader of the bloc.

Thus for the first time since 1912 an independent or third candidate appeared with the support of organized groups important enough to seem to be able to threaten the supremacy of the two major parties and possibly to throw the election into Congress.

In spite of the more promising outlook the result has been to add one more failure to the succession of efforts to form a farmer-labor bloc. President Coolidge has been elected by an unexpectedly large vote and Senator La Follette failed to receive any electoral votes except those of Wisconsin. Senator Magnus Johnson was defeated in Minnesota and Senator Brookhart of Iowa was re-elected by a surprisingly small margin.

Evidently only a minority of people in the United States are ready to join in a new grouping of parties. La Follette waged a straight fight against two conservatives who were excellent representa-

tives of their point of view. There is no immediate prospect for the formation of a radical party in this country corresponding in strength to the British Labor Party even after its defeat in the last general election. Apparently progressive action must still be obtained through our two party system. The permeation of the major parties rather than the formation of a strong third party, made up of farmer and labor elements, remains the accepted method in the United States for the accomplishment of economic reform and the attainment of social justice.

No effective coöperation between intellectuals and workingmen, exists in the

United States. Few men in public life are socially minded and our political controversies are fought out superficially upon individualistic and constitutional grounds. The influence of university teaching in economics and sociology, so significant in the Progressive movement and party, has been largely suppressed by the reaction following the end of the World War. No clear signs can be noted of any constructive forces at work to meet the urgent economic and social problems that confront the country. Apparently we are drifting without leadership in the stormy sea of national and world events.

## THE SOCIAL TENDENCY IN NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS.

### I. THE DECLINE OF THE POLITICAL EDITORIAL

MARSHALL D. BEUICK

**P**OLITICAL editorials are on the wane in their influence and in their numbers. Instead of the political editorials that are concerned with the dynamics of political machinery and party activity, there are arising editorials that come into close relation with man's everyday concerns. Sociological and psychological studies point the way to make these new editorial articles great social instruments.

Editorial writers of the past, it is true, have essayed to give their writings social usefulness which was no doubt successful in a society more simply organized than modern industrial centers. Today, however, we have a society that is organized in a more complicated structure than any social aggregation that has previously existed. Besides, we possess sociological and psychological data that have never before been as useful as they are today.

Sociology and psychology can be used

practically by the editorial writer if he understands them and knows how to put them into intelligent use. These two social sciences have pulled themselves out of the realm of philosophy and they are now in the "laboratory" stage which produces theories and formulæ that can be applied to social work in a manner that is comparable with the work of scholars in the fields of exact science.

Newspapers are more widely read than ever before in history, yet we are told that they exert less influence on our lives than they did when a Horace Greeley's editorials in some instances set men to punching each others heads.

The fact of the matter is that newspapers do influence our lives immeasurably, but the editorial article has ceased to do so in the same measure as it did more than twenty-five years ago. Perhaps this is accounted for largely by the virility of a tradition that the editorial page must

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have a large political content. A quarter of a century ago men with less absorbing things that touched their lives than at present could become wrought up by political discussion. But, today politics and political newspapers are not taken seriously. This is not a surmise, or is it a new discovery.

An analysis of the number of ballots cast in elections since 1865 gives an interesting interpretation of the political interest, at least that which is expressed through the vote, over a period of nearly a half century.<sup>1</sup> This analysis shows that approximately the most emotionally active interest found in politics was apparent in 1876 in the presidential campaign of that year when about 85 per cent of the qualified electorate cast votes. At the period of the Civil War (1864) there was another indication of voter interest when the percentage was close to 85 per cent.

From 1876 the votes sloughed off gradually until 1904 when they dropped rather pronouncedly to about 75 per cent. This decline continued up to 1912 when the percentage became a little more than 60. In 1916 there was a very slight revival of political interest that may be accounted for by the introduction of woman suffrage; and in the campaign of 1920, the vote dropped to its lowest ebb which was just a trifle above 50 per cent of the qualified voting population.

Of course, in the 1924 campaign there was a slight revival, but nothing of a startling character.

The persons who have analyzed this vote find a new kind of politics arising about 1920 when new issues entered politics to make it rather complicated. Factors of a new economic life, which too often only the specialist could compre-

hend, were introduced, and the state of mind of the population became "confusion, incertitude and weariness."<sup>2</sup>

To vote his convictions, a conscientious citizen had to become a specialist in political science, carefully choosing between a conservative Democrat and a progressive Republican in one election, and a progressive Democrat and a conservative Republican in the next. And even if the candidate of his choice were elected, he was likely to find the new President's program thwarted by the opposition of the President's own party in Congress. The average voter, bewildered if not disgusted, voted blindly—or voted not at all.

Along with this artificial party situation must be considered a factor of even greater importance: the multifarious interests and multiplied opportunities of contemporary American life. For a generation after the Civil War the United States was predominantly a nation of farms and cross-roads villages. Life flowed along pretty nearly on a dead level, and interruptions of the routine were few and far between. To such a people a political rally had all the romance and dramatic interest of circus day, and they celebrated the occasion with barbecues and torchlight processions. Voting was a diversion as well as a duty. Furthermore, time existed for reading the few newspapers, and the relative merits of parties and platforms were discussed with keen zest.<sup>3</sup>

Fifteen years ago an English journalist, who considered the political phases of newspapers, observed the fact that the Liberal party in Great Britain was victorious in 1906 despite the fact that there was only a handful of Liberal newspapers in England and Scotland.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, he recorded a similar situation in the Canadian election of 1908 and in the revision of the Dingley tariff at Washington, D. C., in 1909 when the American press was practically flouted.

Coming up to our own time we find a university professor saying that "the reading public are not interested in ab-

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 165-166.

<sup>3</sup> "The Value of Political Editorials," by Edward Porritt, *The Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1910.

<sup>4</sup> "The Vanishing Voter," by Arthur M. Schlesinger and Erik McKinley Eriksson, *The New Republic*, October 15, 1924, pp. 162-167.



stractions or in arguments."<sup>8</sup> They want to read about real life as they conceive it. "Readers have always demanded entertainment and helpful information." In fine this professor of marketing holds that the public wants its emotions touched.

Nevertheless, the argumentative editorial that dealt in abstractions did touch people's emotions at one time, and thoroughly entertained newspaper readers. The people did not seek to have their emotions stirred. The stirring occurred because men had grown up in environments that had trained them to believe that the destiny of the nation revolved around political decisions that were fought out abstractly and argumentatively in editorial articles.

A Washington correspondent of *The New York Evening Post*, after considering the election of a mayor of New York who was opposed by the whole metropolitan press except one newspaper, decided that the press had lost much of the popular confidence it held years ago.<sup>6</sup>

This journalist accounts for the failing prestige of the newspapers by the conclusion that they have lost their personal element. Other factors that he believed accounted for the change were; cheap magazines, newspaper business competition, greater capital required for maintaining and beginning a newspaper enterprise, speed, the greater importance given to news gathering than to news interpretation and the scant time that intelligent men have to read editorials.

One man, who has been a student of politics of more recent times and who has become a journalist of considerable in-

fluence, has discovered much the same state of mind among people in regard to politics as the reactions we have just referred to. He has found "everywhere an increasingly angry disillusionment about the press, a growing sense of being baffled and misled."<sup>7</sup>

This writer's explanation for this statement is that we see very little of public affairs. "They remain dull and unappetizing, until somebody, with the makings of an artist, has translated them into a moving picture."<sup>8</sup>

The ability to provide this political cinema as Mr. Lippmann calls it, is rare, as one might imagine from the suggestion that it requires an artistic as well as a political faculty to accomplish the job. Besides, in view of the obstacles today that are far greater than editors were confronted with formerly, the editorial writer has almost insurmountable difficulties to overcome, particularly if he attempts to use the editorial page as a vitagraph screen or as a stage.

One practical political observer has indicated one great obstacle that stands in the way of more judicious consideration of politics by voters. This man believes that the great majority of us are either pro or anti in politics.<sup>9</sup> We like to read those things that support our own emotional beliefs.

Many of the observations in the foregoing appear true in the light of cursory surveys I have made. For about three years I made it a habit to inquire of many of the people that I encountered in a day to what an extent they read editorial pages. I talked to people in a great many

<sup>6</sup> An address before a convention of the Association of National Advertisers at Atlantic City, N. J., November 19, 1924, by Prof. George B. Hotchkiss of New York University.

<sup>8</sup> "The Waning Power of the Press," by Francis E. Leupp, *The Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1910.

<sup>7</sup> *Liberty and the News*, by Walter Lippmann, New York, 1920, p. 75.

<sup>8</sup> *Public Opinion*, by Walter Lippmann, New York, 1922, p. 161.

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Job E. Hedges, *The New York Times*, November 2, 1924, p. 14, section 10.

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walks of life and of numerous nationalities. Although I never attempted to keep any data, I have an impression from my survey that is convincing.

Very few of these persons read the editorials in the newspapers except those who were readers of dailies that contained articles by such persons as Arthur Brisbane, Dr. Frank Crane, Roy K. Moulton, who write what are forms of editorials. There were, of course, some few business and professional men who admitted that they did read the more weighty editorial opinion.

The general attitude of those persons with whom I talked was that what the newspapers said was insincere and that politics was "bunk" and fraud. To my surprise many of these people, and they were not all educated, referred me to specific instances in periodicals some of which I took the trouble to trace.

One of these articles was about the Colorado coal strike of 1913 when newspapers, that were owned by persons interested in the mines where the strikes occurred, misrepresented the facts of the labor disturbance to gain public sympathy and support.<sup>10</sup> The temporary success of this journalistic feat presented an isolated reason why people might become disgusted with the press, but above all it indicated what little real power these newspapers had in the long run. The strike came to the attention of the Government and it was disclosed that things were not as the newspapers had represented them. The press was not potent enough to hoodwink the authorities or what we may call public sentiment for want of a more definite name.

The merchandising of newspaper properties that occurred in New York from 1920 on was another case that was cited. In

frowning at the lack of professional spirit that was exemplified in these newspaper purchases, one weekly deplored the situation into which the press had fallen. Despite what exaggeration there may have been in this liberal weekly's attack, the editor expressed in much more rhetorical language what I had heard many persons remark.

The country longs for unbiased news facts. It is seething with unrest and emotion, it stands face to face with conditions and economic circumstances wholly unprecedented in its own experience, and it is not being given the truthful information upon which to base sound judgments and decisions. The great mass of the people believe that their interests are without that representation in the press to which they are entitled, and to the press they are more and more applying an ugly name. Our great dailies are read because they have to be read, but their reliability is everywhere a by-word.<sup>11</sup>

One of my "subjects" pointed out the fact that although a powerful group of newspapers in New York—*The World*, *The New York American*, *The New York Evening Post* and *The Globe*—denounced the unseating of five duly elected Socialists in the Assembly of the State of New York, these newspaper editorials were not influential enough to arouse public sentiment sufficiently to have the Assemblymen seated.

Another person pointed out that he had read that a radical newspaper was confiscated and then returned by more level-headed persons because these intelligent officials realized what influence a newspaper really had politically.<sup>12</sup> In fact the authorities finally understood that a suppressed newspaper had greater political influence than a published one, at least for a short time.

<sup>11</sup> *The Nation*, New York, p. 166, February 7, 1920.

<sup>12</sup> "A Newspaper Confiscated—and Returned," by Anna Louise Strong, *The Nation* (New York), December 13, 1919.

<sup>10</sup> "Prisoners of Public Opinion," by George Creel, *Harper's Weekly*, November 7 and 14, 1914.

Although I personally never interviewed him, William Randolph Hearst said almost the same thing that many of those I interviewed believed they had observed. When asked if he thought the political influence of the press was declining, Mr. Hearst replied:

I rather think that the influence of the American press is on the whole declining. This I believe is because so many newspapers are owned or influenced by reactionary interests and predatory corporations, and are used selfishly, to promote the welfare of these reactionary interests, rather than the welfare of the public.

This tends to weaken the confidence of the public in all newspapers more or less.

Furthermore there are other agencies of publicity which divide the field with the newspapers nowadays. There are the moving pictures and the radio for example.<sup>13</sup>

Perhaps a more unbiased analysis is found in a review of *Public Opinion* by Walter Lippman.<sup>14</sup> In finding an answer to why the political editorial has declined, this article suggests that we must look to the newspaper readers as well as to the newspapers. The reviewer says in one part of his article that the population is articulate enough and it has an abundance of organs of expression, but it has hardly ever received sufficient knowledge about government to form an intelligent opinion about political matters.

Granting the truth of this, there have nevertheless been millions of picas of type that instructed people in governmental questions, and which have manifested no noticeable result in the last twenty odd years. There must be produced another medium of instruction or if newspaper publishers want the job of being political

educators, they will have to alter their tactics. The old ones certainly do not operate.

In this connection, a former owner of *The New York Evening Post* has recalled the influence of his newspaper and *The Springfield Republican* at the time the Spanish-American War occurred. The views of these newspapers verged on treason and alarmed President McKinley's cabinet.<sup>15</sup> But this journalist goes on to point out that this was many years ago. Then he compares that situation with the "famous" editorial by Frank I. Cobb that appeared in *The World* one Sunday. This particular article is perhaps the most revolutionary opinion that has appeared in any American newspaper outside the radical dailies in a quarter of a century. Yet, it created no stir in the nation. No one attacked Mr. Cobb as a Bolshevik. However, if he had said the same thing at a public meeting and it were published in the newspapers, he would have received the denunciations of thousands of public men.

Mr. Villard points out in discussing this editorial,

that 98 per cent of the faithful readers of *The World* are unaware of its views on this subject; they have certainly not had it drilled into them day by day, or week by week, how grave the national emergency is, which is set forth in that leader.<sup>16</sup>

In this particular editorial Mr. Cobb attacked the structure of our Federal Government as it is stated in the Constitution. He recommended a complete revision of that constitutional instrument and attempted to show that it had long since become antiquated.

Rollo Ogden, a veteran editorial writer, once said that the editor gets as a mist

<sup>13</sup> *Printer's Ink*, New York, July 3, 1924, pp. 101-102.

<sup>14</sup> "Organizing the Vox Populi," by William Bennett Munro, *The New York Evening Post Literary Review*, July 1, 1922.

<sup>15</sup> "The New York World: A Journal of Duality," by Oswald Garrison Villard, *The Nation* (New York), October 25, 1922.

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what he gives back in shower. If that be true, editorial writers must succeed in so losing the principal part of the mist, that the public cannot recognize its own reaction in a shower of editorials, otherwise they would read them with avidity.

People delight in reading what they believe if they believe something at all violently. The editorial writer of today evidently fails to pick from the mist these ardent beliefs of the public. If the majority of editorial writers did as Mr. Brisbane and Dr. Crane do, even though their methods may be considered platitudinous, editorials would be read to the same extent as are the easily read and easily related words of Mr. Brisbane.

In the fifties, a newspaper historian tells us that the editor of a successful New York newspaper was a person of more political influence than the Speaker of the Assembly.<sup>17</sup> This entire period from the early fifties up to the early eighties was an era of political battles on editorial pages; and they were not battles without echoes. Today, most editors shout, as if they were in a vacuum, and there is no echo. This same historian substantiates this when he says that *The New York Times* has much less effect through its editorials than when Raymond edited the journal.

The readers of the *Times* represent a far wider range of political opinion than the ordinary newspaper constituency. A great many people who cordially dispise the political and economic opinion of its editors feel that they have to buy the paper in order to get the news.<sup>18</sup>

The editorial pages of the great majority of newspapers might very well be filled with comic strips or radio wiring diagrams as far as reader interest is concerned. It hardly appears to be wisdom to continue

to talk about something, such as politics, and to have no response and to exert no influence. Yet, a journalist of wide training, who admits that the editorial article has lost its former influence, maintains nevertheless that such journalistic opinion is necessary if for nothing else than to make the newspaper men themselves morally selfconscious. He goes so far as to say that editorials are rather widely read.<sup>19</sup>

We see from what has been set forth, that politics is not taken seriously by a great majority, that politics is the principal content of many editorials and that the majority of readers do not bother to read editorial opinion. However, there are editorials that are read and talked about at the dinner table and "in the street." These articles often do not appear on the traditional editorial page. They are found most frequently on the last page of newspapers. These editorials seldom deal with political questions as I shall attempt to demonstrate. If they are political, they are simple, direct and repetitious. Mr. Brisbane tells us what these editorials are like.

If you want to drive out the handful of organized rouses that control politics and traffic in votes, don't talk smooth platitudes. Tell the people over and over again that the thieves *are* thieves, that they should be in jail, that honest government would mean happier citizens, that the *individual citizen* is responsible. Keep at it, and the country will be made better by those who alone can make it better—the people.<sup>20</sup>

That kind of political editorial is read and acclaimed by thousands. One obvious reason for the success of this sort of preachment is that it attacks politics as dishonest. Hundreds and hundreds already believe this. With this type of

<sup>17</sup> *The History of The New York Times*, by Elmer Davis, New York, 1921, p. 15.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 260.

<sup>19</sup> "The Editorial: Past, Present and Future," by Tiffany Blake, *Collier's Weekly*, September 23, 1911.

<sup>20</sup> *Editorials from the Hearst Newspapers*, New York, 1906, p. 331.

editorial you make a subject, which people don't bother with in newspapers, an interesting bit of reading. In fact, this sort of editorial is not unlike the bombastic editorial of fifty years ago that was widely read and taken seriously. It has an emotional effect that the old-style article had, and it reaches people's feelings with any subject.

The editorial article is evolving. Some newspapers whose hands are tied with a *sanctum sanctorum* tradition try to continue to do a thing with type and respectable appearance that was formerly accom-

plished through vibrating words. In fact, it is hard to believe that many newspapers take their editorial pages seriously or else they would so change them that readers would find them as irresistible as a streamer headline or a back-page article by Dr. Crane.

What direction is the evolution of the editorial taking? Have we nothing in the editorial pages but Neanderthal creations that will not survive or has the new kind of editorial really met something fundamental in a new and still changing society?

## ZONING AND DEMOCRACY

E. T. HARTMAN

**B**ECAUSE of its acceptance by the leading banking and insurance interests and other investors in real estate securities, by the National Association of Real Estate Boards and other leaders in real estate; by public service interests, both public and private, and by home owners generally; and by the leaders in the health, legal, engineering and architectural professions, it is assumed that the future of zoning is secure. This is probably a right assumption. The rapid spread of the movement and its far-reaching and beneficent results give good grounds for hope.

We are here particularly concerned with zoning in a democracy. It may be well to bring out some of the peculiarities of the movement, particularly as applied in a democracy, and some of the needs of the situation as we find it. In the first place let us consider some of the peculiarities of zoning and some of the peculiarities of democracy as we find democracy manifesting itself among us, that we may see the correlation of the two and some of

the possible results, perhaps also some of the special needs of the situation in which we find ourselves.

### SOME OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF ZONING

First, if we have learned anything about zoning it is that it is largely a matter of administrative supervision, the administrative officers and the people who choose them having constant, daily work to do in directing zoning in all its details. Zoning is not an automatic affair. It is not like a modern automatic elevator which, at the push of a button, comes to you and opens the door that you may enter, and, at the push of another button, takes you to the floor you want and opens the door that you may go out. Even if zoning were automatic to such an extent, there would remain the question of selecting the officer who would in each instance decide what button to push, for the selection could be left only to a public servant, and, even here, such a public servant might be subject to pressure. Chief among the problems are the granting

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or refusal of permits in accordance with the law, the decisions of the board of appeals in appealed cases and appeals from either or both by interested parties. Here is the crux of the whole matter: "interested parties." It may be John Smith today and John Jones tomorrow who is affected by some decision, and John Smith and John Jones will have to keep their eyes open to see when they are affected. And the treatment of one will probably affect the treatment of the other, so that each has an interest in the case of the other. And Smith and Jones are not the only ones affected, for all the people are either Smiths or Joneses and all their interests require watching all the time. We will at once have to give up the idea of a system of zoning that is automatic.

To mention but one other aspect, there is the question of changes of the zoning lines and changes in the wording of the zoning ordinance. There can be no change but what will affect properties just outside those it is proposed to shift from one district to another. The one is affected as much, often more, than the other, and the parties at interest are all those who will be directly affected, as well as all others who may be affected by traditions thus established.

It is obvious that zoning is a matter requiring the attention of all the people all the time. We have had much government by explosion, but it is obvious that the method will not work with zoning. With zoning all the people are all the time parties at interest, and periods of neglect by all the people or by groups of people are sure to bring bad results in their wake and require a constantly increasing amount of explosive to produce a given result. Constant attention by a people awake will, it is obvious, produce the only satisfactory type of results.

#### SOME OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF DEMOCRACY

As to democracy, a little observation of its workings, a little contact with its actual attitude, will disclose the fact that the people are looking for a machine-like product in zoning, "something that will work and free us from this constant watching of conditions and results." Statements like this may be found on every hand, from both officials and private citizens. Why is there this willingness, even anxiety, as expressed on every hand to shirk the responsibilities or rule by the people and substitute machine-like processes? Isn't it, in short, that we are a democracy which has not yet learned to function, which has not weaned itself from the enervating influences of autocracy? We yearn, in fact, for the return of the good old days when things were run for us. Yes, we are a democracy in name only. That is obvious. The important question is as to whether we are ever to become a democracy. The situation is not without hope, and zoning has during the past five years doubtless done more to arouse a genuine spirit of democracy and give ground for hope than anything that has arisen amongst us in a hundred years. Where else may we look for the heaven?

The needs of the situation are becoming apparent to the people in ever-widening circles. People who never before did any public work or took any interest in public affairs, are interesting themselves in zoning and are working to bring about administration in accord with the spirit and purpose of the laws. For there is that in modern zoning which appeals both to personal and public interest and to the imagination of all in whom imagination is not dead. There is ground for hope, but the day will not be won without the hardest kind of work by those who



have already taken an interest in the matter.

#### THE HERITAGE OF THE PAST

Not only do we have to overcome the marked tendency to look only after our own bread-and-butter jobs and our golf and our automobiles, but we have to learn that the many evil tendencies developed during the time while we had abdicated our democratic throne are still active, even rampant amongst us. These things are of the utmost importance now while zoning is young, while traditions and tendencies and methods of administration are being established. Work in the right direction now will be productive of far greater results for good than a similar amount of work even five years from now. From the past we have inherited and there are everywhere to be found conditions and tendencies which will thwart the benefits of zoning, just as they have thwarted and rendered nugatory the benefits of democracy. The politicians are still amongst us. Favoritism, influence, bribery, corruption, purchased immunity,—they are unfortunately not dead. Already, in zoning's few short years in this country have these things shown their hand. Permits have been granted in violation of law, favoritism has been shown. Influence has been exerted, bribes have been accepted. The encouraging feature lies in the fact that bribes of all sizes, some running to huge amounts, have been refused; officials have held public duty superior to private gain; influence has been ignored and the public welfare has been considered. Right here is reason enough why every citizen, male or female, regardless of race or creed or party label, should interest himself in what is going on.

Let it all take care of itself, forsooth!

Leave the corrupter and the corrupted to their devices, leave the honest official to fight his own battles! That isn't democracy and it is time for us to recognize the fact. With all the support the people can give the officials the road will be rough enough because of the heritages of the past. The present decision of the people, who have deliberately put themselves in the place of the king and the parliament, who have the power, will be all-powerful, at once and in the years to come.

Zoning will not function without the attention of the people. Zoning in a democracy requires democracy.

#### THE PROMISE OF THE FUTURE

If zoning fails it will be because that part of democracy has failed. Zoning requires constant attention. There are daily matters of administrative detail which require the consideration of the people. And yet, as has been stated, there is complaint because zoning is not automatic, "so we will not have to bother any more about it." In spite of this we object to bureaucracy, while only through bureaucracy can zoning work other than by popular attention. Do we want bureaucracy or do we want democracy?

The ultimate success of the movement will depend upon the nature and degree of its acceptance by the people as a whole. Administrative friction, bribes, corruption, favoritism, pull, too many court cases, adverse decisions, all dependent upon the failure and neglect of the people, are too big a price to pay for ease. And under the circumstances there would be no ease. Neglect can but bring failure.

There is promise in the fact that zoning has proved itself to be a civic awakener of no mean character. For itself and for its secondary results it will be supported by many people and many believe there is

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And why all this from mere zoning? In the first place, because it provides a method of regulating community growth, a thing the people have desired from the time we became a nation. Yes, there is a Massachusetts law of 1692 which points in exactly the same direction. It required boards of health to assign specific locations for noxious trades. The law is still in our statute books, G. L., Chap. 111, Section 143. The fact that it is little used does not, at any rate in this instance, reflect discredit on those who established it, whatever it may signify as to present conditions.

There has been constantly the desire to have community life which was more effective, convenient, healthful, beautiful; to avoid the uncertainties due to unregu-

lated development; to avoid the enormous losses due to the improper location of trades and business. The people believe the desired method of such regulation has been found in zoning. Many of them have experienced its benefits, many more have seen the possibilities and have given themselves whole-heartedly to the advancement of the movement. Many of them have interpreted accurately the possibilities and the methods by which these possibilities may be secured. Whatever their training or lack of training, these people are not going to let the movement fail from lack of attention. The promise for zoning is good. That zoning promises to react helpfully upon our democracy is another reason why zoning will be supported. The way is clearly laid down, perhaps more clearly than in any previous instance, largely because of the very nature of zoning itself.

## GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

An impartial study of "Pacifism and the Pacifist" reveals the theory and its exponents as worthy of neither derision nor fear. Most pacifists are sincere idealists with faith in the goodness of their fellow-men; they believe that wars, due to deep-seated, complicated, but quite definite causes, have proved futile and stupid failures that defeat their own aims; they would guarantee safety and justice by abandoning economic imperialism, disarming, practicing open diplomacy, outlawing war, and relying on a world court and league of nations—in short, by creating an international mind. Yet they fail to see that war may sometimes bring positive benefits, that moral and spiritual values rise above material loss, and they are by nature extremists who too often cultivate a

spirit of intolerant martyrdom. David B. Wharton, in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for July, gives no verdict for or against them; each intelligent man, he says, must decide whether pacifism is to become for him a by-word, an example, or a faith.

Another illuminating comment on civilization below the Potomac from the pen of Gerald W. Johnson. "The Dead Vote of the South" consists of the 136 electoral votes that go to any presidential candidate (and would go as readily to Simple Simon or a yellow dog), provided he wear the Democratic label. Obviously this political abdication rests on the social question of white supremacy, and toward that both the South and the Far West are in the grip of forces beyond their control.

Yet the situation is an almost unmitigated evil, and it has narrowed the whole range of the South's intellectual activity. For a remedy the author suggests the slight reconstruction of human nature that would involve the abolition of demagoguery, lying textbooks of history, and ignorant and prejudiced teachers. His article appears in *Scribner's* for July.

During the past twenty years laws have been passed in 18 states with reference to sterilization of the socially unfit. In 12 states they are now more or less operative as therapeutic, punitive, or eugenic measures. Five-sixths of all actual sterilizations, usually with the consent of the patient or his relatives, have taken place in California. Objection is made to such laws on the ground that they are too far ahead of public opinion, that they violate constitutional liberties that they prevent the necessary segregation of dangerous defectives, that it is impossible to determine with legal exactness who should be subject to them, and that feeble-mindedness, at least, is not transmissible or criminal in tendency. They are upheld as a means of freeing future generations from the menace of their own degenerates, and as a sound public policy involving the right and duty of national self-defense. George E. Worthington, discussing them in the *May Journal of Social Hygiene*, believes we should move very carefully in authorizing sterilization, waiting for the biologists to find out positively whether various anti-social traits are heritable or not.

"Scum from the Melting-Pot"—that part of our foreign population whose standards of morality and culture cannot be assimilated to the American tradition—needs to be skimmed off and got rid of at all costs. The only present remedy is

deportation, and for certain offences abatement of property (i.e., padlocking), but a rigid test in American standards by a government official before the prospective immigrant leaves his native land would effectively prevent the tainting of our life by these vicious elements. Edwin E. Grant tells in the *American Journal of Sociology* for May how California, in its war against white slavery, narcotics, and alcoholism, has come to depend largely on these first two weapons, and has used them more systematically than other states. The stringent regulation of immigration at the source is, however, the only means of really controlling crime and vice.

The immigration law of 1924 has had a year's fair trial. Allotment of quotas, which are to become in 1927 proportionally representative of the nation's various racial groups at the last census, will then become wholly fair and without discrimination. The preliminary weeding-out process by our consuls abroad has saved endless confusion and deportation. In requiring admissions to be distributed through the year, and allowing wives and children of citizens to come in freely, the act has done away with much unnecessary hardship. A necessary corollary, which must come in the interests of both citizens and newcomers, is the registration of all aliens. These are the conclusions of Robert DeC. Ward's article on "The New Immigration Law and Its Operation" in the July *Scientific Monthly*.

"Is Prohibition a Success after Five Years?" No, declares Senator Bruce of Maryland in reply to the emphatic Yes of Wayne B. Wheeler of the Anti-Saloon League in *Current History* for August. Mr. Wheeler's imposing list of benefits includes a decrease in crime, juvenile

delinquency, vast economic home built to labor un The quest lawlessness itself eager Amendme oceans of runners, and ness. He people has to wipe o their mor corruption are living trary, gall tyranny of

The emi by George Church, and who regar as an erro They prese Review a s Prohibition sumptuary and contra contempt f an increas cases, and greater for true tempe popular go tical remed of the Vols each state liquors," v power bei transportat held by th September give expro hibition.



delinquency, and industrial accidents, a vast economic saving in life insurance, home building, and automobiles, and aid to labor unions, education, and the church. The question is one of obedience versus lawlessness, and the country has shown itself eager to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment. Senator Bruce points to our oceans of home brew, navies of rum-runners, and mounting arrests for drunkenness. He thinks the ethical sense of the people has been outraged by the attempt to wipe out an innocent recreation, and their morals endangered by wholesale corruption and evasion of the law. We are living under a despotism more arbitrary, galling, and odious than the classic tyranny of George III.

The eminent legislator is well borne out by George Gordon Battle, Samuel Harden Church, and eight other prominent men who regard the Eighteenth Amendment as an error, and injustice, and a failure. They present in the June *North American Review* a symposium on "Five Years of Prohibition and Its Results." These sumptuary laws that are unenforceable and contrary to human nature, leading to contempt for all law, official corruption, an increase in nervous and mental diseases, and the meeting of force with still greater force, have set back the cause of true temperance and are fast making of popular government a mockery. A practical remedy is suggested in the repeal of the Volstead Act and the definition by each state of the words "intoxicating liquors," with local enforcement, federal power being used only to prevent the transportation into any state of beverages held by that state to be illegal. In the September issue ten other writers are to give expression to views favoring prohibition.

We can hardly be reminded too often of the alarming increase in divorce during the past generation. Benjamin P. Chass in the same issue shows that since 1870 the proportion of divorces per 100,000 of the married population has increased by more than 400 per cent. Two-thirds of all divorces are granted to couples married less than ten years, and more than one-third to those with children. The number of causes allowed—of which cruelty and desertion are oftenest alleged—range from one in the District of Columbia to seven in Nevada, and women are the applicants more than twice as often as men. The economic independence of women and the general restlessness of the age are to be held largely responsible; yet the institution of marriage is in no danger, since the proportion of marriages to population steadily increases.

The fourth estate in England is at once a cause, an effect, and a symptom of those sweeping changes which have altered the face of the country in less than a hundred years. So contends Hilaire Belloc, writing on "The English Revolution and the Press" in *Harper's* for August. The dignified, intelligent, fearless journalism and the cheap sensationalism of former days have flowed together to produce a literature of rather vulgar mediocrity. The newspaper of today is the instrument not of a directing editorial mind or of a group with a clear policy, but of a single wealthy, half-educated, and usually intolerant man. And the press has fallen into complete dependence upon advertising revenue. Yet a greater power than itself, the new-old idea of direct government by a powerful and personal executive, is almost at hand, and with its advent the control of public opinion by plutocracy will be at an end.

Judge Robert W. Winston has turned from Darwinism and orthodoxy as discussed recently in these pages to ask pointedly, "How Free is Free Speech?" The American courts are the villains of the piece, and their assumed power of punishment of the offense of "constructive contempt" is, he holds in the June *Scribner's*, a clear violation of the first amendment to the Constitution they are sworn to uphold. Let actual disorder or insult in the courtroom be summarily dealt with, but for the bench to play the part of prosecutor and jury as well as judge in offenses occurring outside, which ought to be considered merely as slander or libel, is a usurpation of the ancient right of freeman to judgment by their peers. The recent vindication by the Supreme Court of the Clayton Act, under which a person who disobeys a judicial order may claim trial by jury, marks perhaps the beginning of the end of this belated tyranny.

The aims of the Page School of International Relations, to be endowed at Johns Hopkins, are three: to develop a science of international relations, to find the facts on any particular issue, and to produce a trained body of men for human service in that science. The purpose of this "School for Peacemakers," says Lyman Bryson in the June *Atlantic* is revolutionary. Its realization will be hindered not so much by ignorance, inertia, economic imperialism, or military and racial pride as by the growing philosophy of power in America. Such a philosophy has developed in every nation with a commanding world position, rationalizing the chance at domination that luck has given it into a belief in a "mission" or a "manifest destiny;" and

there is being built here a body of doctrine that values life in terms of aggressive achievement. A knowledge of facts alone will not conquer it; the new technicians of peace must learn and practice the difficult art of public persuasion.

Our legal and medical professions, after a long period of rivalry and disagreement over the treatment of criminals, are at last beginning to work in harmony. Replacing the usual battle of alienists and lawyers at a trial to prove insanity or its lack in a prisoner, a number of states have passed laws providing for previous mental examinations of persons accused of crime. The most radical step, as described by S. Sheldon Glueck in the May-June *American Review*, has been taken by Massachusetts, where such examinations are made as a routine matter in all cases by impartial psychiatrist, who file a report with the clerk of court which is accessible to the judge and attorneys on both sides. Those border-line cases which are found to be neither normal nor completely irresponsible furnish, if convicted, the most difficult problems in sentencing and subsequent care.

Since their beginning in 1900 over three hundred courts dealing entirely with delinquent children have been established in 47 states. Publication No. 141 of the federal Children's Bureau is an elaborate account of "Juvenile Courts at Work" in ten large cities. In its study of their organization and methods it takes up jurisdiction, the material plant, the staff, various steps in court procedure, probation, reports, and administrative work. The appendix contains a list of recommended juvenile court standards and samples of the various forms in present use.

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# SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

## COTTON-CLOTH: A TYPE STUDY OF THE SOCIAL PROCESS. I<sup>1</sup>

MARY O. COWPER

### COTTON, COMMUNITY, AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

THE past few years have seen a multitude of books on the raising and manufacturing of cotton, "the most valuable article in the ocean-borne traffic of the world."<sup>2</sup> Some treatments of the subject are excellent, and some are biased or dull. There have been thousands of pages of statistics gathered and published. Cotton has been looked at from the point of view of the historian, the economist, the manufacturer, the laborer, the social-reformer, the politician, the legislator, the novelist, the fabric artist. It has been considered as the maker and the destroyer of wealth; the cause of revolutions, industrial and civil; the creator of new peoples and countries. Tompkins wrote many volumes to explain what it could do for the South.<sup>3</sup> Thompson and Mitchell show what it has done.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Other aspects of this study which will follow in later SOCIAL FORCES include the processes of cultivation, manufacturing, marketing, management, labor as social development.

<sup>2</sup> E. E. Pratt. *Cotton Textiles*. Dept. of Commerce. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Misc. series No. 58.

<sup>3</sup> D. A. Tompkins. *Cotton and Cotton Oil*. *Cotton Mill Commercial Features: History of Mcklenburg County*.

<sup>4</sup> Holland Thompson. *The New South. From Cotton Field to Cotton Mill in North Carolina*.

Broadus Mitchell. *Rise of Cotton Mills in the South*. Johns Hopkins Studies, 1921.

Scherer treats it as a world power.<sup>5</sup> Its effects are disputed. One social worker says that it takes mothers from the home and children from the school. Another says that it gives education to the illiterate, health to the poorly nourished, social life to the isolated. But however much cotton has been discussed in all these books and pamphlets and articles, there has been little consideration of its relation to society as a whole, to the evolution of human values.

In this study, the whole process of the production and manufacture of cotton is considered as a type of the evolution of societal values, as an example of "the evolution of the fittest" as regards industry, as an example of the interrelation of peoples and work. The description of the processes, of policies, will be a description of a law of nature demonstrated in exactly the same way that the law of gravitation must be, that is, by observing examples of its workings.

The industrial process which survives must be beneficial to society as a whole; must tend to the integration of community life; must contribute to the success of man's ultimate mastery of his destiny. It cannot survive otherwise, it does not prove itself "fit." As society develops, the industry changes. The evolution of the cotton industry may be well described

<sup>5</sup> J. A. Brown Scherer. *Cotton as a World Power*.



by the nomenclature which Karl Pearson used to describe the evolution of society as a whole, namely, "individualism, socialism, humanism."<sup>6</sup> The fact that each of these words has been used with special connotation involving much controversy, should not detract from their value.

Pearson pointed out that people have usually thought of human "survival of the fittest" as "cutthroat competition" industrially, war between nations, destruction waged by those who can. But, he states, "The struggle for existence involves not only the struggle of individual man against individual man, but also the struggle of individual society against individual society, as well as the totality of humanity with its organic and inorganic environment."<sup>7</sup> History proves that the last is as important and as inevitable a stage as the first two. Pearson further states: "The power of the individualistic formula to describe human growth has been overrated, and the evolutionary origin of the socialistic instinct has been too frequently overlooked."<sup>8</sup> He defines "socialism" as he uses it, as "the tendency to social organization always prominent in progressive communities;"<sup>9</sup> "humanism" as the "solidarity of humanity in the struggle with its environment."<sup>10</sup> Humanism is the stage when men combine to conquer adverse nature, when individual struggle is the lesser fact, coöperation the greater, and when men strive to improve the race.

Scherer follows Pearson in declaring that coöperation is as much a part of evolution as is struggle.<sup>11</sup> He quotes W. E. Ritter, who states in his *War, Science and Civilization*: "The doctrine that all human

progress is accomplished by somebody's beating somebody else, usually to the death, has had such vogue during the last few decades, particularly in business and politics, that it sometimes seems hopeless to get people to see how far it comes from agreeing with all the relevant facts."<sup>12</sup> J. B. S. Haldane sees the evolution and states: "As industries become more and more closely interwoven, so that a dislocation of any one will paralyze a dozen others (and that is the position towards which we are rapidly moving) the ideal of the leaders of industry, under no matter what economic system, will be directed less and less to the indefinite increase of production in the intervals between such dislocations, and more and more to stable and regular production even at the cost of reduction of profits and output while the industry is proceeding normally."<sup>13</sup> Later he says, "It should take a shorter time to evolve a stable industrial society. The people that do so will inherit the earth. In sum, I believe that the progress of science will ultimately make industrial injustice as self-destructive as it is now making international injustice."<sup>14</sup>

From the past history of the cultivation and manufacture of cotton, its present condition, and what may be fairly deduced of the future, it is seen to be a clear illustration of the development of "individualism, socialism, humanism" or, in Small's phrase, "of the ongoing of the social process."

#### DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD NEED FOR COTTON-CLOTH WITH THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

For hundreds of years, cotton cloth was made by the individual for herself and her family with hand-made tools.

<sup>6</sup> Karl Pearson. *The Grammar of Science*, p. 433.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 432.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 435.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 433.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 433.

<sup>11</sup> Scherer, op. cit., Chapter 21.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 385.

<sup>13</sup> J. B. S. Haldane. *Dædalus, or the Future of Science*, p. 20.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

For we know simply would it into a covered that in a smooth twisted with might more smooth out India added spinning still century the world. We the simplest done by hand fashion designs were made, spinning in the foot tread many generations was developed the design, but today.<sup>18</sup>

Commerce back as our was imported as 1320, and but it was grown, and India became Spanish, Dutch navigators, entered the East and factories often exploited age of the industry of adventure man won such triumphed by individual countries

<sup>15</sup> M. D. C. Crawford.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>17</sup> Crawford.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>19</sup> Crawford.

<sup>20</sup> 73; 91. Scherer.

<sup>21</sup> 1498; vide Crawford.

<sup>22</sup> Crawford, p.

For we know not how long, the fibre was simply wound on a straight stick to make it into a cord, then "the spinner discovered that if one end of the stick rested in a smooth shell or stone, and was twisted with one hand, the other hand might more easily form the thread and smooth out the stick and rough places."<sup>15</sup> India added the spinning wheel to the spinning stick<sup>16</sup> and until the eighteenth century this sufficed the needs of the world. Weaving was done long before the simplest loom was invented, effectively done by hand.<sup>17</sup> But when necessity or fashion demanded more cloth, looms were made, and, as with the simple spinning implements, the hand loom and the foot treadle loom were sufficient for many generations. Great beauty of fabric was developed both in the quality and the design, beauty that is rarely equalled today.<sup>18</sup>

Commerce in cotton cloth goes as far back as our written history.<sup>19</sup> The fibre was imported by central Europe as early as 1320, and was woven into cloth there, but it was chiefly woven where it was grown, and as soon as the markets of India became widely known,<sup>20</sup> "Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English and French navigators, merchants and adventurers, entered the East and established colonies and factories to develop the trade and often exploit the native."<sup>21</sup> It was the age of the individual, of home workers, of adventurers. To a large extent, a man won success as he worked alone, he triumphed by overcoming his fellows in individual competition.

<sup>15</sup> M. D. C. Crawford. *The Heritage of Cotton*, p. 23.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 24. Scherer, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

<sup>17</sup> Crawford. *The Heritage of Cotton*, p. 24.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 67. Scherer, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

<sup>19</sup> Crawford. *The Heritage of Cotton*, pp. 66-68; 73-75; 91. Scherer, pp. 21; 26.

<sup>20</sup> 1498; vide Crawford, p. 74; Scherer, p. 35.

<sup>21</sup> Crawford, p. 75.

The adoption of cotton in Europe opened with a struggle by the wool, flax and silk raising and manufacturing people against the use of the new fibre.<sup>22</sup> The wool growers in England were especially active against the new import and industry, and in 1700 they forced Parliament to forbid the selling of cotton goods in England.<sup>23</sup>

In 1721 an act was passed imposing a fine of five pounds on the wearer and twenty pounds on the vender of cotton goods.<sup>24</sup> But cotton clothes were comfortable for summer wear, they were beautiful, they were a novelty, they were the style! Europe was ready for cotton, and the feeling of the public was expressed by the author who wrote: "Should I ask the ladies whether they would dress by law, or clothe by act of Parliament they would ask me whether they were to be statute fools, and to be made pageants and pictures of. They say they expect to do what they please—so they will wear what they please and dress how they please."<sup>25</sup> And as they and the men also pleased to use cotton goods, in 1736 the law of England was amended so as to permit the manufacture of mixed cotton and linen goods.<sup>26</sup> Indian cloth was still excluded for some time. By 1750, there were 30,000 people in the Bolton and Manchester districts exclusively engaged in the manufacture of cotton cloth.<sup>27</sup> Daniel Defoe in his *Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, (1727) described industry just before the advent of machinery. "We could see at every House a Tenter, and on almost every Tenter a piece of cloth or Kersie or Shaloon. At

<sup>22</sup> Crawford, op. cit., pp. 86-87; 92, 99.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 96; Scherer, p. 45.

<sup>24</sup> Crawford, p. 97.

<sup>25</sup> Crawford, p. 99.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 101.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

every considerable House there was a manufactory. Every clothier keeps one horse at least to carry his manufactures to the market; and every one generally keeps a cow or two or more for his family. By this means the small pieces of enclosed land about each house are occupied, for they scarce sow corn enough to feed their poultry. The houses are full of lusty Fellows, some at the Dyevat, some at the looms, others dressing the cloths; the women and the children carding or spinning; being all employed, from the youngest to the oldest."<sup>28</sup>

Quantity was demanded by the times and specialization had begun. Weaving and spinning were "let out" by "masters;" weavers made trips around the country in search of yarn. Women and children spun yarn in their cottages and sold it. After the weaver finished, the goods were taken somewhere else to be finished and dyed.<sup>29</sup> People ceased to think of their handiwork, their "manufacture," as their own special property and expression of their personality. Many people had learned to work with a view to a large output, to trade. Spinning and weaving were mechanical; mass production was called for. The world which knew what it wanted and made an effort to get it, wanted cotton. The age of machinery was due.

The most striking fact of the beginning of the age of machinery is that the first inventors were men who felt a vital need for assistance in their own work. They had to work faster or go under in the struggle for existence. They, therefore, invented machines for their need. Invention as a business, or an intellectual urge, or an art, came later. The very names of the first inventions to aid in the

rapid production of cotton-cloth, show the personal relation of the inventor and his tool. John Kay, in 1738, made a "fly-shuttle" for his loom. When his shuttle "flew from side to side of his loom, he doubled its output. And not the prejudice of artisans who thought the new device would throw them out of work, nor the opposition of masters, who wanted no change, could prevent the rapid adoption of the aid to speed."<sup>30</sup> But the spinners could no longer keep up with the weavers, and another invention had to come. James Hargreaves, in 1764, answered the need with his spinning-jenny.<sup>31</sup> Hargreaves intended to keep his invention only for his own use, but when his secret was suspected and a mob had driven him from home, he went to Nottingham and with a partner conducted what was probably the first spinning-mill in England. Still the cry for more yarn came, and Richard Arkwright produced his spinning-frame driven by water-power (1769).<sup>32</sup> Coarse goods could now be made with great rapidity, but finer goods were wanted to compete with the Indian cloth, and Samuel Crompton answered the call with his "mule," a cross between two other machines. Scherer states: "At the age of twenty-one he began his experiments, and succeeded after five years of the most diligent labor, the result being a combination of the Arkwright rollers with the moving carriage of Hargreaves, greatly improved, in a machine which eventually—during his own lifetime—carried upwards of 350 spindles."<sup>33</sup> Spinning was now far ahead of weaving.

<sup>28</sup> Scherer, op. cit., pp. 59-62. Crawford, op. cit., 108-109.

<sup>31</sup> Scherer, op. cit., pp. 63-65. Crawford, op. cit., 108-109 ("Jenny" probably was a colloquial abbreviation of engine.)

<sup>32</sup> Scherer, op. cit., pp. 66-70. Crawford, op. cit., 111-113.

<sup>33</sup> Scherer, op. cit., p. 71.

<sup>28</sup> Quoted by Scherer, op. cit., p. 55.

<sup>29</sup> Crawford, op. cit., p. 100. S. J. Chapman. *The Lancashire Cotton Industry*, pp. 14-17.

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., pp. 7

<sup>35</sup> Scherer, op

<sup>36</sup> Chapman, C

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., pp. 3



The water-power driven spinning frame had drawn people together in one locality as owner and workmen. Necessity required like speed in weaving and Edmund Cartwright, a poet and a parson, worked out the power loom as a matter of intellectual interest.<sup>34</sup> The feeling of the weavers was expressed in verses:

Come all you cotton weavers, your looms you may  
pull down;  
You must get employed in factories, in country  
or in town,

For our cotton masters have found out a wonderful  
new scheme,  
These calico goods, now wove by hand, they're  
going to weave by steam.<sup>35</sup>

The steam engine and use of coal compelled further concentration of labor, as the weavers foresaw. It required much money to buy the new machines and enough cotton to keep them going, and partnerships were formed to establish factories. Capital became a power.<sup>36</sup> But as the mule required great skill to operate, labor could make demands and win.<sup>37</sup> Division of interest began its struggle. Struggle seemingly is the predominant fact from then on, but it must be noted that the need and the existence of coöperation have also increased, not only among the members of each side of the conflicting forces, but also between them and the government and the public in general. The government, it will be recalled, at first tried to keep out cotton. In 1846, the corn laws were repealed, "thus lifting the cotton manufacturer to at least an equal footing with the agriculturist—being a victory of cotton over 'corn,' a triumph of the newly arrived captains of industry and commerce over

the hereditary landed aristocracy."<sup>38</sup> The parish became a master. With governmental aid it became master not only in England, for an excise duty was maintained on cotton goods manufactured in India and England flooded the home of cotton with the products of Lancashire.<sup>39</sup>

During these years of inventing in England, the American colonies were gradually becoming interested, not only in the manufacturing, but also in the raising of cotton. Agriculture was the essential industry, competition with England in manufacturing was of doubtful success,<sup>40</sup> and even after the achievement of independence, the cultivation of cotton was considered much more important than its manufacture.<sup>41</sup> Homespun cotton clothes were worn in the South to a great extent, and much cotton was sent North.<sup>42</sup> England was calling for more and more cotton with each new piece of machinery that made production greater. Only the slowness of separating the upland cotton from its seed prevented great wealth coming to the South, wise people saw. The necessity for something to clear the lint of the seed quickly was as imperative as had been the case in spinning and weaving, and Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin (1793).<sup>43</sup> Note that this invention

<sup>38</sup> Scherer, op. cit., p. 91. Chapman, op. cit., p. 49, note.

<sup>39</sup> Sir Valentine Chirol. *India Old and New*, p. 247.

<sup>40</sup> England forbade exporting any machinery used in the manufacture of cotton. Scherer, op. cit., p. 172.

<sup>41</sup> Alexander Hamilton and Tench Coxe urged the importance of encouraging manufactures in the United States. See Scherer, op. cit., p. 122. George Washington wrote to Lafayette in 1789: "Though I would not force the introduction of manufacture by extravagant encouragements, and to the prejudice of agriculture, yet I conceive much might be done in the way by women, children and others, without taking one really necessary hand from tilling the earth." Quoted by Scherer, op. cit., p. 120.

<sup>42</sup> M. B. Hammond. *The Cotton Industry*, p. 13.

<sup>43</sup> Scherer, op. cit., pp. 154-167. Crawford, pp. 138-139.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., pp. 73-77. Crawford, pp. 73-74.

<sup>35</sup> Scherer, op. cit., pp. 73-75.

<sup>36</sup> Chapman, op. cit., pp. 18-23.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., pp. 38-39.

was not called for nor made by those whose daily business it was laboriously and slowly to pull the lint from the cotton seeds. These workers were slaves, children, and uneducated women with no feeling or responsibility to make more money or expand the industry. Capital, or would-be capitalists, called on genius to go to work and produce.<sup>44</sup> Another aspect of specialization pointed the division of management and labor, which was increasing rapidly with every new machine.

There is no need to rewrite here the effect on the United States of the invention of the cotton-gin and the enormous increase in the raising of cotton. There is no more interesting example of social evolution than the development of the plantation system in the South, of factories in the North; of slavery for the plantations, of immigration for the factories; and then the crisis, the war between two economic systems and the survival of the fittest.<sup>45</sup> England and France were affected vitally, for not only the fortunes of the rich but also the lives of many thousands of the poor were dependent on the cotton bale. The leaders of the South believed that this need of cotton would save their system.<sup>46</sup> "King Cotton" would be victor, they thought. But the deciding factor was that the

workmen of England would risk starvation rather than help perpetuate slavery.<sup>47</sup> Humanism won.

England, with its strong organizations of both workmen and "masters," with its struggles and adjustments by the Government, its history of labor laws, is the easiest field for the study of evolution in the manufacture of cotton, but as the Southern part of the United States is the great cotton producing section of the world and also a great manufacturing district, it seems most logical to study first all the processes as carried on there, noting the social results of each step, and then observe special problems.

Let us look at the present, with only a glance back to remind us of the time when one family raised their cotton, picked it, prepared it for spinning, wove, dyed it, made it into wearing apparel and wore it. It was to their interest to see that each step in the process was good. All of it was their particular business.

Now, the cotton is grown by one man, another hauls it to the gin. There, other men manage the ginning and baling machinery. A middleman arranges for the sale. At the mill, one group of men tends the bale breaker, and another group the lappers, and another the carders. Another is ready at the next machine and then another and another watches the gradual twisting of the fibre till it becomes yarn suitable for weaving, and then the making into the finished cloth. One task for each man is the order today.

<sup>47</sup> Scherer, op. cit., pp. 278-282. Hammond, op. cit., p. 65.

<sup>44</sup> Scherer, op. cit., p. 157.

<sup>45</sup> See W. E. Dodd. *The Cotton Kingdom. A Chronicle of the Old South.* Albert B. Hart. *The Southern South.* C. D. Wright. *Industrial Evolution of the United States.* Scherer, op. cit., pp. 179-309.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 239. Hammond, op. cit., p. 64.

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## THE EMERGENCE OF FACTORY LABOR

WALTER J. MATHERLY

THE history of the laboring class is largely the history of the worker's legal and economic status. In the evolution of industrial society, there are many changes through which labor has passed in its rise to independence, to free contract, to freedom of self-expression. Naturally, the status of labor before is different from the status of labor after the Middle Ages. Likewise, the status before is different from the status after the advent of machine industry. Beginning at the very dawn of recorded history, there are four more or less definite periods through which the workers have moved in their upward march of progress: (1) the period of the slave, (2) the period of the serf, (3) the period of the free artisan, and (4) the period of the factory worker.

## I

The earliest status of labor was mainly a status of slavery. While free labor in many cases existed side by side with slave labor and while slaves were not limited altogether to manual or menial employments, slavery represents more or less the starting point in the workers' history. "Almost the first laboring class that historical records disclose was composed of slaves. In the development of human society from savagery to civilization there came a time when a comparatively sedentary agricultural life suggested a possible economy in the disposition of captives, by the substitution of slavery for slaughter and cannibalism. Thus it happens that in all the great militant nations of the world the laboring population has passed through the stages of slavery and serfdom."<sup>1</sup>

In origin, the institution of slavery was based on the simple desire "to use the bodily powers of another person as a means of ministering to one's own ease and pleasure." Recorded history indicates that slavery existed both among the Greeks and the Romans. Even prior to the civilization of the Greeks it was found among the Hebrews. Although the figures have been disputed, in Athens three hundred years before Christ there were 400,000 slaves in a total population of 431,000.<sup>2</sup> In Aegina in the day of Alexander the Great, there were 470,000 slaves. Somewhat later in Corinth a citizen population of 40,000 owned and controlled 640,000 slaves. In Rome after the second century before Christ similar or even worse conditions of servitude existed.

According to Sir Henry Maine, the Greeks in their early history justified the institution of slavery on the principle that certain races were inferior and consequently were naturally adaptable to conditions of servitude. The Romans based their theory of slavery on the relationship between the conqueror and the conquered, their idea being that in return for the life granted or spared by the victor, the vanquished promised everlasting service to his enemy. The Roman lawyers developed the principle that the right to kill those captured in war was a part of international law and that to spare the life of the defeated foe and make him a slave was an act of mercy.

The status of the slave in Rome was a legal rather than economic status. When a man became a slave he remained a slave until freed.

<sup>1</sup> Adams and Sumner. *Labor Problems*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Adams and Sumner. *Labor Problems*, p. 7.



He or she could be sold, exchanged, given away, left by will, abandoned, or seized. The slave could be the subject of both legal and equitable ownership. A person could possess a usufruct in a slave. In a word, the slave was a person without rights; he was also without legal duties, that is to say, duties which could be enforced upon him. A man in Rome could avoid payment of all debts by becoming a slave, and if he were subsequently freed the liability for his debts would not revive. No judgment against a slave would be effective. His status was almost that of a thing, but a thing capable of being turned into a human being, a human persona, by the act of freeing called manumission or emancipation.<sup>3</sup>

The slave class in Rome however was not altogether comparable with the working class in present-day industrial society. Free labor to some extent existed contemporaneously with slave labor. The laboring classes were not limited wholly to the unfree. Furthermore, slaves were more than menial and manual workers. In spite of the degraded legal position which they occupied, they were a power in Roman life. They were not only the artisans but also the directors and managers of commerce and industry. At one time, Roman trade was primarily in their hands. Banking was almost entirely under their administration. Frequently they managed business undertakings financed by free capitalists. They engaged in various kinds of civil-service activities. They might even enter into partnerships and become agents of their masters. They were represented in the professions by doctors, schoolmasters, and philosophers. In many instances, as in the case of Epictitus, they were men of great culture and refinement.

With the break-down of the Roman empire, Roman slavery in the strict sense disappeared. But slavery as an institution continued to exist in some quarters of the earth for many centuries.<sup>4</sup> As late

as the eighteenth century, England legalized the ownership of slaves in the colonies. At about the same time the slave trade in Africa was being pushed by the Arabs, the Portuguese and the Spaniards, and negro slavery in response to needs for a large laboring population in a new continent, was introduced into America.<sup>5</sup> It was not until 1806 that England prohibited the slave trade and it was not until 1834 that she abolished colonial slavery. Even three decades more elapsed before the United States abolished slavery.

While slavery in the twentieth century still continues in some places, for instance in East Africa,<sup>6</sup> slave labor has ceased to

representing the most dependent class in the manorial community (Lipson, *The Economic History of England*, p. 45).

<sup>5</sup> The reason for the introduction of slave labor in the United States as well as some of its economic results are set forth by Professor Seager (*Principles of Economics*, p. 23) in the following language: "In conflict with the ideals of liberty and equality was the demand arising from the abundance of fertile land for a large laboring population. To satisfy this need Negro slavery was early introduced into the southern colonies, where conditions of soil and climate made slave labor profitable. The northern colonies resorted to the system of importing white servants from Europe under contracts (indentures) which required them to work for a certain number of years in return for their passage money. Where slavery flourished manual labor itself soon became to be despised by the free inhabitants, so that slaves, who were at first merely a convenience in such sections, became, with the progress of time, an economic necessity. The system of indentured labor had no such serious consequences. At first, a valuable supplement to the wages system which was carried on side by side with it in the northern colonies, it was given up entirely early in the nineteenth century, when easier ways were found of securing from Europe the much-needed working force. The diverse social, political and economic ideals which North and South owed to their contrasting labor systems were the root cause of the attempt of the Southern States to secede, and of the terrible Civil War through which the Union was saved and through which, incidentally, slavery was abolished."

<sup>6</sup> Stone. *A History of Labor*. p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Stone. *A History of Labor*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>4</sup> According to the Domesday Book, 9 per cent of the population of England in 1085 were slaves,

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exist altogether among civilized nations. In its place has come free labor, a free working class. Although slaves in the later as in the earlier centuries did not constitute the entire laboring classes, they composed a large proportion of these classes. In the South, they constituted the majority of the working population. As early as 1790, there were 750,000 slaves in the United States making up 19 per cent of the entire population.<sup>7</sup>

## II

After the decline of the Roman Empire about the fifth century, slavery in Europe slowly developed into serfdom. A fundamental change in European society occurred. Agriculture was or became almost the sole form of industry. The feudal system arose with all its changing and shifting conditions. Every important nation was affected. From the eighth or ninth to the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, Italy, France, England and Germany—all underwent a transformation, writing their histories in terms of feudal laws and customs. European civilization became a civilization inseparably linked with feudal institutions.

While feudalism was constantly changing from century to century and from country to country, there were in general two or three outstanding things which affected the position of the common man or the pre-factory worker. To begin with, all the land of the realm belonged to the king. He possessed the sole right of granting tenancies. In return for such grants the tenants paid him homage and swore to him fidelity. These tenants became the lords of the manors, or the tenants-in-chief of the king, and in turn had their own tenants some of whom were free but most of whom were villein ten-

ants who might either be free men or serfs. With the exception of the free tenants who had protection in the king's court, these three classes of tenants served the lords and were ruled over by the lords, and the lords in turn served the king and were ruled over by the king.

The social and economic unit of the feudal system was the manor. The manor was divided into three parts: the demesne or the lord's land, the tenants' holdings both of freehold tenants and tenants in villeinage, and the remainder. The lord's land was cultivated by the tenants in return for their holdings or by unfree persons who were obligated to serve the lord. Most of the labor was contributed by the tenants in villeinage, both bond and free, little work being contributed by the freehold tenants. The tenants' holdings were cultivated by the tenants themselves. The remainder was common or waste land with regard to which the serf had certain rights and upon which he was at liberty to pasture his cows and pigs.

The position of the serf differed vitally from the position of the slave. While the serf had no rights as against his lord and was little more than a chattel, unlike the slave he had practically all the rights and duties of a free man as against other persons or the rest of the world. The status of the serf was even different from that of the free men holding in villeinage. The serf belonged to his lord and could be sold, given away, or disposed of as the lord saw fit. The lord had the right to seize the serf's property; and while the serf could not recover the property if seized by the lord and while he had no remedy if struck by his lord, he did have a remedy if some one else struck him or if some one else seized his property.

Like the slave, the serf did not constitute the entire laboring class. Freehold tenants as well as other types of free labor,

<sup>7</sup> Adams and Sumner. *Labor Problems*, p. 529.

particularly in the towns, entered into the composition of the working population. While the feudal system saw many free men, the bulk of labor at least on the manor rested upon the shoulders of the serfs.

The conditions under which the serf lived and toiled however were not always bad. Often it was difficult to tell the difference between the bond and the free. While he was at the mercy of the lord, the serf frequently attained comfort and occasionally became affluent. At one time, one of the sheriffs of London was a serf. Once and a while serfs reached places of eminence in scholarship. There is a number of cases where they acquired great responsibility in the service of their lords. While serving their lords in return for protection and for their tenements, they worked on their holdings as small farmers and often acted in the capacity of wage earners. While uneducated and while subject to the will of their lords, their circumstances were by no means intolerable. In some instances, they acquired by frugal living a certain amount of wealth.

After the twelfth century serfdom began to decline. A new era commenced. The center of economic activity shifted from the manor to the town, from agriculture to trade and industry. The rise of centralized government, the growth of free towns, the educational effects of the Crusades, the development of commerce, all in their own spheres, contributed to the rise of a new class. "The common people, who formed the vast majority of the townsfolk, the merchants and the artisans, raised themselves step by step in the space of some two and a half or three centuries from the lowly conditions of serfs to the rank of free subjects."<sup>8</sup> By the close of the fourteenth century,

the shackles of serfdom had been considerably loosened or had been largely shaken off. By the sixteenth century the enfranchisement of the serfs in England had become almost complete and the status of serfdom had become practically extinct.

### III

The free workman to some extent has existed from the very dawn of civilization. Even in Greece and Rome, as has already been pointed out, we find free as well as slave labor. The working class was not composed wholly of bondsmen. There were also free workers, consisting both of freemen and freedmen who had achieved their independence either by birth or manumission; and although they were small in number as compared with slaves, they formed an appreciable class.

Likewise, during the era of feudalism, there was a free laboring class. On the manor as well as in the towns were independent workmen who were neither serfs nor slaves. They were free men, subservient to no master and possessing all the rights and privileges of free citizens. The freehold tenant on the manor was a free man. So also was the free man in villeinage. Although the manorial system rested primarily upon serfdom, free labor was not entirely a negligible factor.

Coincident more or less with the presence of the serf on the manors was the presence of the free artisan in the towns. During the Middle Ages, towns or urban societies, in contradistinction to rural agricultural villages represented by the manorial system, grew apace. In England alone there were some two hundred towns in the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>9</sup> The position of labor in the towns was quite different from that of labor in the

<sup>9</sup> Edward P. Cheyney. *Industrial and Social History of England*, p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> Stone. *A History of Labor*, pp. 47-48.

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country. Town life and organization was characterized by the gilds.

The gilds in the medieval English towns were of two types: (1) the merchant gild and (2) the craft gild. The merchant gild was composed of traders, bankers and money lenders. Every one who was engaged in the business of selling was included in its membership, whether he was dealing in his own manufactured products or those he had previously bought. The merchant gild more nearly resembled an association of capitalists, an industrial combination or trust, than an association of employers, since its members possessed a monopoly of town trade. In its last stages, it was in many cases indistinguishable from municipal government itself.

Unlike the merchant gilds, the craft gilds were concerned with industry as distinct from trade. While the former were made up of merchants, the latter were made up of artisans, handicraftsmen, manufacturers. At the height of their power, there were almost as many craft gilds as there were trades or occupations. The craft gilds were formed primarily for the purpose of giving complete industrial control over all those who were engaged in a common calling. They were not trade unions. In the strict sense, they were not organizations of employees at all. In fact, they more nearly resembled associations of employers, since their membership was composed almost altogether of master craftsmen. Their object was to supervise and administer the common affairs of their respective occupations. While there were variations in different trades and in different towns, they laid down and enforced rules or ordinances regulating hours of labor, standards of wages, night work, settlement of disputes, character of workmanship, inspection of goods, relationships with consumers and many other related activities.

The artisan achieved membership in the gild by passing through stages of apprenticeship, journeyman and master. The apprentice was the novice, the beginner, the learner. His training was under the jurisdiction of the master. Each gild limited the number of apprentices which a master could take. The relationship between master and pupil were set forth in deeds of apprenticeship approved by the gild. The period of learning varied. While as a rule it required about seven years, frequently the learner could by paying a heavy premium shorten the period and in some cases could complete his training in three years. The contact between the apprentice and his master was of the closest personal and social nature.<sup>10</sup> As an institution, apprenticeship acted as a feeder for gild membership, provided sound technical training for beginners and encouraged high standards of craftsmanship.

After serving his term of apprenticeship, the apprentice passed to the rank of journeyman.<sup>11</sup> This enabled him to seek employment as a hired workman and to receive wages for his services. Prior to his employment as a journeyman, the master usually inquired as to whether he had served his apprenticeship. Every journeyman eagerly looked forward to the time when he would become a master. Before taking his place among the craftsmen of the gild, he had to exhibit his

<sup>10</sup> "As an apprentice he was bound to a master for a number of years, living in his house and learning the trade in his shop. There was usually a signed contract entered into by the master and the parents of the apprentice, by which the former agreed to provide all necessary clothing, food and lodging, and to teach the apprentice all he himself knew about his craft" (Edward P. Cheyney. *Industrial and Social History of England*, p. 56).

<sup>11</sup> Why he was called a journeyman is not clear. The title might have arisen as a result of his being hired by the day or as a result of his wanderings from town to town in search of work.

competence. In doing this, he was required sometimes to present a "master-piece" as evidence of his ability. Generally two or three years elapsed subsequent to apprenticeship before he was in a position to present his claim for entry into the inner circle of the guild. During this interval he accumulated enough capital to set up his own independent workshop. On compliance with these requirements he became a full master workman and acquired all the rights and privileges of guild membership.

The transition from journeyman to master craftsman effected no great change in the workman's status. He still continued to labor at his trade. The only difference between his old position and the new was that he ceased to be the employed and became the employer with his own apprentices and journeymen.

During the guild era, manufacturing was of the simplest sort. Everything was done by hand. The workmen owned their own tools. Production took place in the home. The industrial unit was the cottage or a back room thereof presided over by the master who was assisted by his journeymen and apprentices. The master went into the market and purchased raw materials and after turning them into finished products sold them in his own shop to consumers. There was no congregated effort, no wide market, no export trade, no output on a national scale. What trade existed was in the hands not of the craft guilds but of the merchant guilds. Everything industrial was in the handicraft stage of economic evolution.

Disintegration of the medieval system in Great Britain began to take place in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Great economic changes occurred affecting labor both in the town and in the country. Rural life and organization underwent a complete transformation. The manorial

system already in a flux for more than a century saw a new series of changes in the form of enclosures. Sheep-raising due to the demand for wool at good prices both for export and for manufacture in England brought about the enclosure of land and contributed to the break-down of the old agriculture. Since sheep-raising required little labor, the countryside was either denuded of its population or else turned to the cloth-making industry which was gradually being transferred from town to rural locations.

Corresponding rather closely to the changes in agricultural organization were the changes in industrial organization. The guilds became monopolistic, "proving a drag upon industry instead of a help," and began to decay. The domestic system of manufacture came into existence. There arose a class of wage-earners permanently employed who never became masters. The towns lost their pre-eminence as industrial centers. Production shifted to the country in order to escape guild regulations and to secure cheap rural labor dispossessed by the enclosures. A complete differentiation between the employer and the laborers appeared. The capitalist employer in the form of the richer craftsmen who had amassed wealth and desired to find productive uses for it bought the raw materials, contracted with the workmen to handle the process of manufacture, and disposed of the finished products to the consumers in the market. The workers still owned their own tools and labored in the home, often aided by the members of their families and in addition carried on some form of agricultural activity.

The economic status of the free artisan remained practically unchanged for the next two centuries. The domestic system which began in England in the latter part of the sixteenth, developed in the

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seventeenth and reached its climax in the eighteenth century prevailed until the rise of the factory system.<sup>12</sup> The only change that occurred was an increasing use of capital as applied to the successive stages in manufacture and a trend toward the invention of labor-saving machinery.

#### IV

The factory worker made his appearance upon the industrial stage with the advent of the Industrial Revolution. From the middle to the latter part of the eighteenth century a number of far-reaching industrial events occurred in England which wrought a great change in the economic organization of society. The invention of the spinning jenny by Hargreaves, the water frame by Arkwright, the mule jenny by Compton, the power loom by Cartwright, and the steam engine by Watt, coupled with the operation of interacting commercial and psychological forces ushered in what has since become known as the factory system. Domestic production ceased to exist or at least began to decline. In its place there came factory production, machine industry, manufacturing in the modern sense.<sup>13</sup>

With the birth of the factory system, a multitude of changes took place in the economic status of labor. To begin with there was a transfer of thought and skill from the workman to machine. This was bad enough, since it robbed the artisan of his craft, his richest possession. But

that was not all. There also came a separation of the worker from his tools.<sup>14</sup> Whereas before he owned his own tools, under the new regime the tools needful for production were owned by the employer, were brought together in buildings separate and distinct from the home; and from the home to the factory the laborer was compelled to go for employment, for a chance to work, for means of livelihood.

The result of these changes was obviously a degradation of the skilled craftsmen.<sup>15</sup> Men once masters of their trades were forced to compete with the unskilled, with women and children, since the latter were as well qualified as they to tend or operate machines. As a consequence, the handicraftsmen fell from their high estate; the unskilled displaced the skilled; and general disorganization became the lot of the master workmen of old.

But this dislocation was not altogether permanent in its effects. The skilled artisans, particularly in the metal trades, began to turn to the manufacture of the very tools and machines which were the cause of their displacement. While they suffered hardships<sup>16</sup> immeasurable during the period of transition, in the end they

<sup>12</sup> "The machinery is so costly as to be beyond the reach of the workman; and since the machines are the property of the employer the building in which the production is carried on must also belong to him and is called the factory. The laborer is not his own master, as in the handicraft system. He no longer owns the tools and the workshop, as in the domestic system: all that he does is to provide the human labor force which is applied through machines and in workplaces owned by the capitalist employer" (Edwin R. A. Seligman, *Principles of Economics*, p. 95).

<sup>13</sup> Seligman, E. A. R. *Principles of Economics*, p. 94.

<sup>14</sup> "The new industry required bodies of laborers working regular hours under the control of their employers and in the buildings where the machines were placed and the power provided. Such groups of laborers or "mill hands" were gradually collected where the new kind of manufacturing was going on. Thus factories, in the modern sense, came into existence—a new phenomenon in the world" (Edward P. Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, p. 183).

<sup>15</sup> "No slavery that ever existed could have been worse than that into which the textile workers of England were quickly thrown, and it is difficult, even allowing for the hard spirit of the times, to account for the atrocities inflicted upon them by those into whose hands the control of industry fell" (Dexter S. Kimball, *Principles of Industrial Organization*, p. 18).



as well as society were better off than under the old order, since labor-saving machinery reduced the sum total of human effort, increased production and decreased cost to consumers of which they were an integral part.

While the Industrial Revolution degraded skilled labor at least for a time, it elevated the unskilled and extended the field of labor. The introduction of new methods of production afforded opportunity for certain classes of people to engage in industrial operations who had never before had the chance to earn more than a mere pittance. Also as machine production became more and more perfected, a variety of new industries sprang into existence opening up still wider fields to the unskilled workers, and enabling them usually not only to earn more money than formerly but also to climb to higher planes of living. Consequently, what at first seemed to be a curse, especially to the skilled workmen, became in the end a blessing to the skilled and the unskilled alike.

In addition to these direct effects on the wage earner the rise of the factory system was productive of certain indirect effects. The various changes which occurred created a multitude of new social problems which not only affected the individual worker but also society as a whole. Population increased at a rapid rate. Due to the rise of mills and factories domestic manufacture decayed, causing a migration from the villages to the new industrial districts. People were herded together in towns. The congestion of population in urban centers gave birth to slums and debased the home life and atmosphere of the laboring masses. Exploitation of women and children was common. Hours of labor were long, wages low and working conditions were often intolerable. The idea of protective

legislation was as yet unborn. In general, the age was an age of suffering and hardship for the working classes.

But as Mr. Gilbert Stone points out we must not be led astray into painting a picture of the early factory system that is wholly dark. "It is a fatal mistake to regard the very real evils which sprang from the Industrial Revolution as material evils. It was not that the poor became poorer and the rich richer, for in truth it was not so. The whole tendency from the dawn of the Industrial Revolution to the present day has been for the average standard of life to improve so far as material resources are concerned." On the whole the factory system brought to the common man more advantages than disadvantages.

The evils of the Industrial Revolution in so far as they were repeated in America were less marked than in England. This is true for obvious reasons. The United States was a new country free from the customs, traditions and influences of the old world. From the very beginning, freedom, private property and equality of opportunity became the foundation stones of the nation. Manufacturing on an appreciable scale developed at a somewhat later date. When the industrial system did begin to assume importance, the temper of the people was such as to oppose a repetition of the state of affairs which characterized the development of English industry. Moreover, protective legislation came into existence before the influx of immigrant labor became a serious problem and the American wage earner as a general thing secured the benefits of machine industry without its serious detriments.

In reaching their present position in modern industrial society, then, the workers have traveled a long and hard pathway. First slaves, then serfs, then free artisans,

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and finally factory laborers, they have at last achieved independence, the right to contract freely. While they still face a multitude of difficulties, while they still do not own their own tools, and while they still must depend upon the managers of industry for employment, they are free men, free legally, free economically. In comparison with the slave, the serf or even the artisan, the present-day workman occupies a high position. He is an economic power of great magnitude. No man

owns either his body or his mental and muscular energy. No employer can compel him to labor unless he cares to do so. The owners of the agencies of production need him just as badly as he needs them. Whatever the working conditions and level of wages in particular industries, employees have the balance of power in their hands just as much as the employers and in a final test of strength are just as free to use the strike as the employers are to use the lockout.

## THE INTELLECTUAL STATUS OF CHILDREN IN COTTON MILL VILLAGES<sup>1</sup>

L. A. WILLIAMS

ONE item in a school survey made in a southern town of about 2500 inhabitants in 1920 was a record of the intellectual status of the school children as shown by the I.Q. ratings. Such ratings of 591 pupils from grades two to seven inclusive showed a situation so far removed from normal expectations as to demand a rechecking and further investigation. By this means it was revealed that one or both of the parents of 509 of the 591 pupils examined were employees of cotton mills in the town. It appeared, therefore, that here might be a selected occupational group with a characteristic intellectual status. Two years later it became possible to secure more data of a similar sort from a like occupational group in another town far removed from the first. The results were so very similar as to suggest rather forcibly that children in cotton mill villages present a specialized social problem due to their intellectual status. Conclusion of the matter

cannot be stated with finality until more adequate data have been supplied. The preliminary showing clearly suggests the need for a more complete investigation.

According to Terman<sup>2</sup> measures representing the intellectual status of a group may be expected to distribute themselves according to a certain percentage at each of seven levels. This seven-fold classification may be used, therefore, as a point of reference and a basis of comparison for groups. Such a use was made in the case of the 591 pupils in the first school system referred to above, measured by the Haggerty Intelligence Tests, with results as shown in the accompanying table.

So, whereas the normal expectancy is to find some 7.5 per cent of a group of children at or below the border-line of normal intelligence, this group of 591 pupils presented 201, or 34 per cent, at or below border-line intelligence, i.e., with I.Q. rating of less than 80.

Significant also is the central tendency of the group: normally, the central

<sup>1</sup> From data assembled and presented by Mr. L. H. Jobe as Master's thesis in the University of North Carolina in June, 1922.

<sup>2</sup> Terman, L. F. *The Measurement of Intelligence*, pp. 8, 9, and 79.

tendency should appear between 90 and 109 (perfectly at 100), in the case of these 591 pupils it appeared between 80 and 90 (actually at 86.5). In fact more than one-half of the pupils examined were below normal intelligence, i.e., more than twice as large a proportion as would be normally expected. A consequently proportionate falling off in measures of normal and superior ability was inevitable. According to the measure used, therefore, this group of 591 cotton mill village children were decidedly of inferior intellectual caliber.

TABLE I  
INTELLIGENCE LEVELS  
FIRST GROUP

I.Q. SCORE	ABILITY LEVEL	NUMBER		PER CENT	
		Expectancy	Actuality	Expectancy	Actuality
Above 139	Genius	1	1	0.1	0.1
120-139	Very superior	14	24	2.4	4.1
110-119	Superior	89	33	15.0	5.6
90-109	Normal	354	186	60.0	31.5
80-89	Dull	89	146	15.0	24.7
70-79	Border-line	29	98	5.0	16.6
Below 70	Feeble-minded	15	103	2.5	17.4
Total.....		591	591	100.0	100.0

It was perfectly possible that this first group was a chance selected group of children with poor intellectual status. As a check upon such contingency measures were secured by the same tests of a second group of 418 pupils from grades two to seven in another system 71 per cent of whom had at least one parent employed in a cotton mill. Using the seven-fold classification of Terman again, the actual results among this group of 418 were set over against the results according to expectancy.

It would seem that the first group was

not a chance selection of poor pupils. In this second group over 40 per cent are found at or below the border-line of intellectual inferiority with almost exactly two-thirds of the group below normal intellectual capacity, whereas only one-fourth of a group is normally expected to be below normal. Likewise the mid-measure of this group was found to be 82.5 as over against 87.5 for the first group, and 100.0 for a normal group. Whatever the Haggerty Intelligence Tests measure these two groups of cotton mill

TABLE II  
INTELLIGENCE LEVELS  
SECOND GROUP  
(Haggerty test)

I.Q. SCORE	ABILITY LEVEL	NUMBER		PER CENT	
		Expectancy	Actuality	Expectancy	Actuality
Above 139	Genius	1	0	0.1	0.0
120-139	Very superior	9	4	2.4	0.9
110-119	Superior	63	14	15.0	3.3
90-109	Normal	251	124	60.0	29.7
80-89	Dull	63	101	15.0	24.2
70-79	Border-line	21	84	5.0	20.1
Below 70	Feeble-minded	10	91	2.5	21.8
Total.....		418	418	100.0	100.0

village children possessed less of it, and a larger percentage possessed this less portion than is to be expected. Presumably, and according to the best evidence obtainable, it is native intellectual ability which these group tests measure. It evidently is something very necessary, in fact, indispensable for success in academic pursuits.

Even as it was possible that the first group might have been a chance selection of children, so it was possible that the Haggerty Tests may have been a test particularly ill-adapted. As a check against this possibility 310 pupils in the

second group were tested. The results of these tests showed a tendency toward the border-line of intellectual inferiority with almost exactly two-thirds of the group below normal intellectual capacity, whereas only one-fourth of a group is normally expected to be below normal.

Likewise the mid-measure of this group was found to be 82.5 as over against 87.5 for the first group, and 100.0 for a normal group.

Whatever the Haggerty Intelligence Tests measure these two groups of cotton mill village children possessed less of it, and a larger percentage possessed this less portion than is to be expected.

I.Q. SCORE

Above 139

120-139

110-119

90-109

80-89

70-79

Below 70

Total.....

for the normal group. The results of these tests showed a tendency toward the border-line of intellectual inferiority with almost exactly two-thirds of the group below normal intellectual capacity, whereas only one-fourth of a group is normally expected to be below normal. Likewise the mid-measure of this group was found to be 82.5 as over against 87.5 for the first group, and 100.0 for a normal group. Whatever the Haggerty Intelligence Tests measure these two groups of cotton mill village children possessed less of it, and a larger percentage possessed this less portion than is to be expected.

\* Using



second group from grades three to seven were tested by the National Intelligence Tests. The results indicated the same tendency with a slightly different distribution at the different levels, as the table shows. Had it been possible to include the scores of second-grade pupils the results might have proved to be much more nearly alike.

Again more than one-half of the group was found to be below normal in intellectual power. The proportion with superior or very superior ability was discouragingly low. The central tendency

Objectors to the use of these intelligence tests as criteria can find little comfort from the results of teacher judgments as shown by the chronological over-ageness of the second group. The age-grade tabulations of this group of 418 pupils is substantiating evidence of their low intellectual status.

Agreement of intelligence test scores with teacher judgment *directly* asked and given followed the same general tendency as found by other investigators. In 5 per cent of the cases intelligence as indicated by the I.Q. was one level higher

TABLE III  
INTELLIGENCE LEVELS  
SECOND GROUP  
(National test)

I.Q. SCORE	ABILITY LEVEL	NUMBER		PER CENT	
		Expectancy	Actuality	Expectancy	Actuality
Above 139	Genius	1	0	0.1	0.0
120-139	Very superior	7	7	2.4	2.3
110-119	Superior	46	12	15.0	3.9
90-109	Normal	186	124	60.0	40.0
80-89	Dull	46	60	15.0	19.3
70-79	Border-line	16	64	5.0	20.6
Below 70	Feeble-minded	8	43	2.5	13.9
Total.....		310	310	100.0	100.0

for the group at 88.0 as contrasted with normal expectancy at 100.0 offers confirmatory evidence that the group under consideration had intellectual possibilities of a decidedly limited order. The similarity of results obtained by the Haggerty and by the National Tests is shown by the coefficient of correlation 0.919<sup>3</sup> between the scores made by the pupils who took both tests in this second group. There is very high probability that the poor showing of the group is not due to the test used.

<sup>3</sup> Using the Pearson coefficient as a formula.

TABLE IV  
AGE-GRADE TABLE  
SECOND GROUP

	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	TOTAL
Grade 2.....	10	39	23	9	9	7	4	1					101
Grade 3.....		11	25	23	10	6	3	1	1				80
Grade 4.....			2	14	13	18	10	10	7	2			76
Grade 5.....					13	25	13	16	2	2	2		73
Grade 6.....						4	18	17	10	6	1		56
Grade 7.....							3	14	10	4			31
Total.....	10	51	61	58	66	57	64	31	15	3			418

Note: All above and to the right of the upper heavy line are *over-age* chronologically for their grade.

All between the heavy black lines are *at-age* chronologically for their grade.

All below and to the left of the lower black line are *under-age* chronologically for their grade.

than intelligence as shown by teacher estimate; in 24.5 per cent of the cases agreement was perfect; in 36.7 per cent the I.Q. rating was one level lower; in 27.3 per cent of the cases two levels lower; and in 6.5 per cent of the cases three levels lower than teacher estimates. Agreement was general among the teachers that the intellectual status of the group was, on the whole, low.

Conclusion of the matter is self-evident. All the evidence gathered concerning the

school children in these two cotton mill villages shows that an unexpected number and proportion of these children have an intellectual capacity below normal—a surprisingly large proportion at the border-line or feeble-minded level.

Evidence from two school systems only is not conclusive. Such evidence as here presented is, however, highly significant and its implications far-reaching. Ought the school program in cotton mill villages to be re-made in the light of pupil abilities? Ought the time-schedule likewise to be modified? Do such conditions demand reconstructed methods in teaching? How far is the mill village environment responsible? In towns partially made up of cotton mill employees ought special oppor-

tunities to be provided for their children? So on and on the questions might go. The primary problem for immediate and extended research should be a validation of such data as are here presented by an accumulation of evidence over wide areas, representative and typical. Mere spotting and random sampling will not be sufficient. Only mass of evidence widely scattered and widely centered can prove of constructive and convincing worth. Is it *true* that our cotton mill village population is a stratum of low grade intelligence in our social order? Is such a stratum thickening or thinning? What is the nature of the "mother lode?" Is it, or is it not a "fault" which will result in social disaster?

## GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

That not quite all the Southern cotton mill owners ought to be hanged is the astonishing assertion made by Gerald W. Johnson in the *American Mercury* for June. His study of "Service in the Cotton Mills" traces the rise of the new industrial order about 1880, inaugurated by surviving members of the old aristocracy whose sense of *noblesse oblige* prompted them to find this remedy for the lamentable condition of the poor whites at the time. The first generation of owners has gone, but something of their spirit—which put human values above profits—has remained in spite of unexpected prosperity in the industry and its invasion by promoters of another type. The encounter between this tradition of paternalism and the theories of sociologists and uplifters from the North, who regard welfare work as a species of medieval hypocrisy, is a collision of two moral superiorities meeting on the same track.

Moving among us, in this settled and civilized country, is a nomadic army of a hundred thousand or more men and boys whom most of us know merely as tramps, hoboes, and bums. Their faults and their virtues,—for even if anti-social by nature they have not a few virtues,—their ingenious methods of "bucking the system" of a callous and repressive world, and their picturesque language and habits are depicted in the *August Forum* by Towne Nylander, who writes with gusto and sympathy of a life in which he is a distinguished amateur. Not the least intriguing of his exhibits are a glossary of the professional terms and a page of those marks and signs placed by hoboes on station walls, fence posts, and the supports of water tanks for information and warning to colleagues who follow them.

The tremendous change in the conditions of economic life during the last

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century has made necessary a correlative adjustment in the purposes and content of education. "What is Industrial Education," and how shall it go about its work? Should it be a preparation for the proper use of leisure time; should it be narrowly and intensively vocational; should it blend long and short range utility by preparing the worker to shift from one industry to another without loss of earning power or mental strain? Or, as L. D. Weyand suggests in the *American Journal of Sociology* for May, ought it not to be still frankly experimental, eschewing formulas and casting about for the method which works best in each concrete case? A number of very interesting pre-vocational schools have recently appeared, which show a refreshing lack of uniformity in organization and curriculum in their attempt to make what is the most important cultural adaptation of modern life.

Those deeper forces which such an adjustment as this must combat are challenged by Elton Mayo in *Harper's* for July. Somehow we have got to create a type of generalizing and philosophic mind that modern science, the factional and class divisions in industry, and the divorcement of interest from daily work are all combining to suppress or dissipate. Our familiar unrest and pessimism is not solely industrial but social as well, caused by ignorance of our own mental needs and the means of cultivating them; hence such remedies as financial incentive, co-operative management, and socialism are merely irrelevant. That we do not recognize this machine civilization as a represser and perverter of human energy is "The Great Stupidity" of modern times, and most of our business men, politicians, and amusement promoters accentuate the

trouble. Only a wide research into the nature of man will enable us to throw off the chains of our present subjection to industry.

The two main trends of workers' education in this country are outlined in two articles from the *Survey* of July 15 by H. M. Kallen and Earle Edward Eubank. The first is that of emphasizing the technical processes of industry, not merely as vocational training but in order to free the workers from their subservience to such abstractions as "Capital" and "Labor" and give them back their tools in the way and on the terms they are best fitted to use them. The second is the liberation of cultural values entirely apart from the grind of the workshop; it has been strikingly illustrated by the labor classes of the University of Cincinnati, held in any course for which ten workers enroll. They have been enthusiastically received by the trade unions of the city.

The "hired man" on the farm used to be a national institution. He helped to clear the continent, with no reward but also with no sense of social inferiority. As pioneer conditions passed he became scarcer, less intelligent, and lower in social standing. With the advent of the machine age his place is taken by the farmer himself, who has become a competent mechanic, and by the hordes of casual laborers, issuing each spring from city slums, who have small interest in their jobs and live and work under revolting conditions. This agricultural revolution is traced by R. G. Tugwell in the *Nation* for August 5; and in the August *American Mercury* Mary Alden Hopkins sketches those pathetic older types of hired men who still persist in New England, selling



their labor to the Slavic and Italian immigrants that have taken over its rocky farmsteads.

Technicians and administrators consider themselves bound by self-interest and the opportunity for effective use of their skill to capital rather than to labor in modern industry. Yet as brain-workers their position will be dignified when they free themselves from the yoke of private control and throw in their lot with labor's program of industrial democracy. Such democracy can come only by transcending the dualism of interest that now exists between the owners of means of production (with their satellites) and the users. G. D. H. Cole, writing in the *Survey* for May 15 on "The Worker in Search of His Tools," looks forward to a real communion of ideas between the younger technicians and manual workers, out of which, under the public ownership of industry, will be created a settled policy based on the interest of the whole.

Perhaps the most hopeful movement toward this ideal is interpreted by Edward S. Cowdrick ("Progress and Tendencies in Works Councils") in the July-August *American Review*. Last year 814 councils, representing over a million workers chiefly from large corporations, were operating. They have become part of the routine of management, developing a more reasonable and intelligent type of official, foreman, and worker, but are not likely to bring about any radical change in the control of business. The functions of such councils, and the limits of their authority, vary greatly; their greatest usefulness lies in full and free discussion of all industrial questions. Toward unionism their position is still uncertain, and it remains to be seen whether they will supersede the unions or can work side by side with them. So far they have assured more justice to the individual workman and helped to improve living, working, and social conditions, not to speak of such imponderables as confidence, coöperation, and mutual understanding.



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## EDITORIAL NOTES

### THE DUEL TO THE DEATH

WHAT is the meaning to the social scientist, the educator, and the social worker of this echoing phrase "duel to the death" but recently hurled across the hills of Dayton to one group by another group far more distantly separated than is realized by most of those who study in halls of learning, or work in fields of professional effort? What is the meaning of the "fight to the finish" challenge being relayed by certain organized groups? For they have a very definite meaning and challenge which can be ignored only with disastrous results. What I found at Dayton was more pathos than joke, more futility than fighting, more tragedy than comedy, more inexperience and ignorance, including visiting seekers after truth or sensation, than lack of intelligence. While mediocre leaders may be indulging in what President Glenn Frank calls an indecent scuffle, it is not so with great cross sections of the American people. Here, representing scores of American communities and millions of American folk were earnestness, sincerity, simplicity, frankness, stubbornness, and the honest fruits of generations of nature and nurture. Years of institutional and physical environment have produced a full grown fruit now being gathered and marketed by self-centered leaders who feel that they have found perfect weather in this new incidence and mass response. What other results can be possible?

### MORE SEARCHING INQUIRY

Satire, ridicule and jest thrown back by critics across the hills seem to me only to rebound to mock a great host of scientists and students of the environmental basis of society who are honestly surprised, discouraged and disgusted with the present situation. Bitterness and pessimism, on the one hand, or mere cheerfulness and optimism, on the other, are superficial and unsatisfactory makeshifts for hard scientific inquiry, earnest efforts toward wise social policy, and a frank facing of the facts. Are the "progressive" leaders of society, then, no more far-seeing than the leaders of reaction? Are they, as has been claimed by many critics, leaders of less courage than those who lead the fanaticism of the day? Do the educators and the social scientists, however intelligent and learned, manifest no more intelligence in their methods and technique, or is their thinking any less subjective and dormant, than the other group? In terms of diagnosis and cure, what is the meaning of this duel to the death in this day when peace is prized above war? What is the meaning of this fight against science in the evening and morning of the first day when social science begins to find itself, and to see that it is good? What is the meaning of this new panic among leaders and believers in democracy on the eve of its first great test? Why a new proposed fatalism reaching all the way from *laissez faire* satisfaction to the recent gains in social direction and

telesis? Why bitter accusations and limited judgments unsupported by due process of thinking and the necessary accompanying scientific inquiry and poise?

#### POSSIBLE MEANINGS

Suppose we pass over the usual meanings ascribed to the present situation. There are undoubtedly great principles involved in the current statements of alarm and danger. There may very well be danger to science. There may be danger to religion and to social morality. There may be great danger to the churches and Christianity. Dangers there may be to the whole public education system, to standards of scholarship and higher education. The issue of freedom of speech and thought and of teaching may very well be involved. The whole question of the trend of the churches to dominate politics and government and thus violate great American principles is a most important one. What is to become of scientific research, of the social sciences, of the search after truth, if this sort of thing goes on, sanctioned by majorities, unstemmed by minorities? Where is the courage and unified action of the more highly educated groups? And there are many other meanings: a broken old man, champion of lost causes, pathetic again in his mischoice of an issue; unscrupulous use of demagogic methods by thousands of leaders of the fray; the farcial mixing of law, the courts, and abstractions; the pitiful commercialization of the whole episode and process, and the sight of myriad intelligent folk, if not following, allowing themselves to be led by the mentally and spiritually deficient. The pathetic eagerness and provincialism of all America's reading public to find something satisfying, and the epochal farce being enacted may also be registered as factors. These and other aspects may be

of considerable importance and have had a great variety of treatment. They are a part of the total situation, from which other meanings may be sought. In these editorial notes, however, we wish to raise the question as to what the situation means to the social scientist in terms of its magnitude and application, in terms of a possible verdict that the situation is neither understood nor under control by those best prepared to lead, and in terms of a research situation.

#### THE SIZE OF IT

Pounding away on varied types of interpretation and description of the present situation have been some 2310 daily newspapers in this country, some 13,267 weeklies, about 3613 monthlies, no less than 392 quarterlies, with perhaps another five hundred including bi-monthlies and semi-monthlies, tri-weeklies and odd types. It profits little to deplore the over-emphasis or the exaggerated reports and the sensational methods. The fact remains that the newspapers alone have printed, on a fair estimate made from actual counts of typical samples, words in the aggregate amounting to three thousand volumes of three hundred ordinary pages each. And this within a short period of time, thus concentrating attention and energies upon a single subject. And the circulation of these papers has been enormous, reaching millions of folk who do not read books. Added to this have been scores of articles and editorials in the learned journals. I have found no periodical of any sort, agricultural or trade as well, which has ignored the subject. Nor have I found a weekly or denominational paper which has not presented the matter in some form although of course the actual examination of these has been very limited. In going to and fro in the out-places and country-side

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I have yet to find a single white person who is not willing to talk about the subject, who does not know something of it, or who does not have ready-made opinions. Some of the best things I have heard have been from the natural wisdom of such individuals. I need scarcely proceed with the other enumerations to show the quantitative appeal which the present situation must have to all students of society and social progress. What about the 237,945 churches with their 219,876 ministers and a membership of 48,224,014? How many of these churches have let the matter alone? What of platform and chautauqua and everyday discussion and smoking car? What of the almost thousand universities and the 276,881 schools with enrollment approximating twenty-five million folk? As a matter of fact, however, these last have been perhaps the least in the discussion and presentation of the subject, leaving to the billion worded newspapers and conversation, religious argumentation and the like. To these factors should be added the almost 800 books published last year on religious subjects and the number now climbing, exclusive of the scores of cheap pamphlets, circulars, with their dogmatism vulgarity, and intolerance. Can any student of the times ignore such a quantitative situation, regardless of the respective merits of its several phases? Whatever the type of educational propaganda put forth, whatever the status of those who read, here is challenge to the student to open his eyes and see what is going on about him. To continue to hide from the truth may leave a verdict against him not creditable to judgment or intelligence.

#### THE OPPOSING CAMPS

There is another way to measure the size of the situation, and the surprise of it,

although it ought to be clear to any student who has made a business of keeping in touch and checking up social situations. This is by examining the two opposing groups, with their clear cut and decisive unity. Mr. Bryan was correct in affirming that he could find in any state, and therefore in all states, a majority of the folk to be fundamentalists. Here is a majority of the American people lined up on one side. Equally clear it is that the great majority of professional folk and of certain clearly defined groups of larger experience and education are unanimously on the other side. Here, then, is the spectacle of colleges, universities, lawyers, many ministers, editors, literary folk, publicists, and the great host of more experienced folk, whether intentionally or not, literally ranked, according to the crude terminology of the duellist, against the great mass of people whom they are to serve. If that situation is not tragic enough, on the one hand, and comic enough on the other, to wake up the academic and cosmopolitan mind, then may we invoke the shades of Sumner, the scientific militant professor. If there are those who doubt the extent or intensity of these opposing attitudes, let them take a count of the millions of trustful folk whose minds have been filled with virus against inquiry and education or of those learned folk whose everyday opinion of the common man is expressed only in terms of negative intelligence.

#### DISTANCE VS. INTELLIGENCE

The difference between the two groups is not intelligence, but vast, yawning distance—distance so great and abysmal that lines from smoky range to fertile valley or mountain crag to shores of sand appear futile symbols. Such distance is not spanned by one group in mental eagerness and anguish hoping to see what lies

upon and beyond the purple hills, or another group near-sighted with much study, learning and experience, and seeing nothing save the broad expanse from lofty viewpoint above the hills. One may ascertain the degree to which these distances are not spanned by a study of the misstatements, demagogic appeals, and unfair methods used by Mr. Bryan and many others in their effort to ridicule scholarship and learning and to flatter the masses of people who have had little opportunity or habit of learning better. The measurement of distance comes when he numbers by the thousands those who believed Mr. Bryan and stood ready to fight for him and to accuse all opponents of sinister motives and mean character. On the other hand, what chasm is revealed in the startlingly inaccurate statements and reports, the naïve ignorance of ordinary humanity and social order displayed by the learned ignorati who talk and write about all aspects of the situation. To say, with a simple dismissal of further interest or hope, that the great majority of American people are of inferior mentality, without distinguishing between types, individuals, and concrete causes, or to confuse present status with reference to experience and learning with the social potential to produce intelligent citizens in other generations, is at least to combine ignorance with the unscientific spirit. Now it may be said that such distance has always existed between scientist, scholar and common people; and so it has, except that it has not been a conscious distance of antagonism and battle line. Nor has the scholar and scientist in other generations attempted to extend his science and and his scholarship into service and democracy, and therefore made contacts so broad and so directly related to the folk. Nor have the taxpayers been so marshalled by visible and invisible agen-

cies against learning and education. Yes, this distance must be bridged and by the more able leaders.

#### WHAT TYPE LEADERS?

In attempting to answer the question as to whether those who are best prepared to lead in this country have the situation in hand or understand the situation in any comprehensive way, perhaps the first task would be to find out who is leading. On the other hand, who should lead and who should not? In many of the states and contests it is said freely in private that the best leaders on both sides refuse to be brought into the conflict, while at the same time other leaders contribute greatly to prejudicing the common folks against science, learning and the higher education. The most timely statement I have seen concerning the nature of those who should not lead is that of Professor Ross:

In every society, in times of stress or alarm, there crop up men whose temperament, upbringing, or personal experience is such that they become wrought-up over this and that unlikeness and cry out that the nation or the race is headed for ruin if a certain element be tolerated. Such are the fanatics, bigots, inquisitors, fire-brands, stormy petrels, alarmists, demagogues, for-God's-sake-ers, bunk-shooters, and finders of mare's nests, who spread incendiary lies about the Mormons, the Free Masons, the Catholics, the Negroes, Wall Street, organized labor, the foreign-born, the "reds," the liberal professors of economics, the social workers, the teachers of evolution. Men of breadth and balance should be at all times ready to "go to the mat" with these.

If to leaders of this sort the reins of leadership are given there could be no other result than that the majority of people to whom they appeal would show the normal reactions of combativeness and conservatism.

It does not suffice for the critic to affirm that the intelligent folks will not follow

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the type of leadership described. Whom else will they follow? What does the more experienced and educated group offer? On the eve and during the recent trial at the entrance to the Rea County courthouse, set over against a huge banner of the Anti-Evolution League, which proclaims one moment Hell as burning reality and another "Hell in the high schools," was the following chief pointer:

The Kingdom of God  
The sweetheart love of Jesus Christ  
And Paradise Street is at hand  
Do you want to be a sweet angel?  
Forty days of prayer  
Itemizing your sins and iniquities  
For Eternal Life. If you come clean  
God will talk back to you  
In voice

This inscription is signed by Deck Carter, Bible Champion of the World. Compare this with the New York specimen, the A. P. P. P. A. of William H. Anderson, who not only claims to lead but does lead great groups of people with the following announcement of

A new Protestant movement  
An American Prohibition Protestant Patriotic  
Protective Alliance  
Which, national in scope, will be  
A League, Offensive and Defensive  
Of Allied Protestant Americans  
To Resist Abject Surrender  
In the Name of a Bogus Tolerance  
Of Everything Vital to True Religion  
And a Genuine Patriotism  
Foursquare in Defense of American Institutions  
And Civil and Religious Liberty  
Against Every Secret Conspiracy  
And Every Open Attack of Anti-American  
Or Anti-Protestant Hate,  
Passion, Bigotry, Intolerance  
Or Religious Fanaticism

The presentation of the number and extent of this type of movements, activities and organizations would make a

valuable object lesson set over against the number of more constructive movements as well as that large body of mediocre, middle-ground propaganda which is all too prevalent. The standard way to bridge distance is not blindly to ignore its existence on the one hand or to demolish the opposing embankments upon which must rest whatever superstructure is to be built. There appears considerable tendency on the part of the intelligensia to follow the first course and of the militant enthusiasts to follow the latter. It would seem a fair conclusion, from evidences observable from my viewpoint at least, to say that professors and social workers, for instance, understand little of the situation now. They therefore have little of it under control. And what is more they do not know how to go about finding out the truth or influencing the situation in broader ways commensurate with their opportunities. In the old days, while the common man was accustomed to ridicule and satirize the professor, he nevertheless looked upon him with considerable respect, esteem, and often with envy. A few more years of the present tendency wherein the college professor, the general educator, and the social worker continue to fail in social planning, concrete study, and a more effective unity and the common man will add to his satire and ridicule hostility and loss of respect. Nor will all of the failure to show intelligence be found on the part of the common man.

We have made some tabulation of the type and methods of demagogic appeal made by emotional agitators in recent months. A study of half truths and false logic used as a common mode of appeal today, together with the bitterness and accusations, will offer a fair challenge to educators to stop and search after facts during a decade of truce in the fighting



business. If, as a brilliant writer has said, Mr. Bryan descended to such low depths of demagoguery that even many of his followers blushed, is there evidence that the publicists, journalists, the professor, the administrator of national agencies have been careful in presenting only the truth with scientific methods in their campaigns of education? A distinguished scientist and administrator reads from the newspapers a story that a certain German anthropologist had his engagement cancelled by the president of a university who had made the most clearcut and distinguished fight against bigotry perhaps in the history of this movement. He does not stop to investigate, he proclaims in address and in publication this as fact; whereas it had no basis in fact. A representative from a publishing house informs a professor in a mid-western university that the ministerial attack on *THE JOURNAL OF SOCIAL FORCES* has cost it the support of the President of the University. The professor does not question the report, but passes it on. The facts are just the opposite, and could have been ascertained. A distinguished editor publishes statistics concerning a state situation. The figures he uses are approximately a thousand times too large. He apologizes, but he has lost the enthusiasm of his constituency. A governor of a state as chairman of a board adopting books for common schools throws out a volume on biology and chooses another, his choice being made on the basis of evolutionary doctrine. In hundreds of cases this incident is listed as statewide legislation against evolution in all state supported schools

including the university. Literally thousands of similar instances of inaccuracy of fact, of unscientific method, of denunciatory approach may be listed in the columns of those boasting of the new scientific method and direction of society. These deficiencies do not bridge distance.

#### SOCIAL SCIENCE AND SOCIAL PLANNING

This distance between the two extremes and this futile situation in which the language of one group is in no wise understood by the other is not limited merely to the conflict between religion and science or the new attack on evolution, which happens now to provide a sort of epochal culture in which a number of startlingly interesting and generic processes are developing. Differences almost as great, and certainly in many instances at present as completely unspanned, are found in other contrasts between fundamentalism of various sorts and modernism in its various expressions. In the field of race, in industry, in certain cultural ideals, and territorial groups will soon be appearing, even more than now, urgent needs for bridging distance. If this be the day of the social sciences it must be remembered that "social" implies contacts, relationships, adjustments, and that if the social sciences expect to function in the newer epoch as the physical sciences have in the old, they must at least conform to the scientific standards set for the new social studies and programs. May we not therefore propose a truce from duelling; a peace without victory, a generation of social study and research? Better a decade of research than a cycle of futility.

HOWARD W. ODUM.

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BROCHURES.

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Book Reviews directed by HARRY ELMER BARNES AND FRANK H. HANKINS

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# RECENT LITERATURE ON INTELLECTUAL HISTORY AND THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

HARRY ELMER BARNES

- HOW TO READ HISTORY.** By W. Watkins Davies. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1925. xxviii, 259 pp. \$1.25.
- THE LESSONS OF HISTORY.** By C. S. Leavenworth. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924, 100 pp. \$1.00.
- AN INTRODUCTION TO THEOLOGY.** By Hermon F. Bell. New York: Published by the Author (22 East 17th Street), 1925, 205 pp. \$2.00.
- AN INTRODUCTION TO PHILOSOPHY.** By E. S. Brightman. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1925, xii, 393 pp. \$3.00.
- THE WAYS OF THE MIND.** By H. F. Adams. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925, viii, 336 pp. \$1.80.
- PSYCHOLOGY AND THE SCIENCES.** Edited by William Brown. London: A. and C. Black, 1925, vii, 184 pp. 6 s.
- SOCIAL ORIGINS AND SOCIAL CONTINUITIES.** By A. M. Tozzer. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925, xix, 286 pp. \$2.50.
- PRIMITIVE LAW.** By E. S. Hartland. London: Methuen, 1925, 222 pp. 7/6.
- PRIMITIVE LABOUR.** By L. H. D. Buxton. London: Methuen, 1925, viii, 272 pp. 7/6.
- THE GREEK VIEW OF LIFE.** By G. Lowes Dickinson. New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1925. xii, 261 pp. \$1.50.
- THE GEOGRAPHICAL LORE OF THE TIME OF THE CRUSADES.** By J. K. Wright. New York: American Geographical Society, 1925, xxi, 563 pp. \$5.00.
- SOCIAL STRUGGLES IN THE MIDDLE AGES.** By M. Beer. Boston: Small, Maynard and Company, 1924, 215 pp. \$2.00.
- SOCIAL STRUGGLES AND SOCIALIST FORERUNNERS.** By M. Beer. Boston: Small, Maynard and Company, 1925, 224 pp. \$2.00.
- A SHORT HISTORY OF MERCANTILISM.** By J. W. Horrocks. London: Methuen, 1925, viii, 249 pp. 7/6.
- THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE.** By Wilbur C. Abbott. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1925 (new edition, 2 Vols. in 1), xxviii, 512, 463 pp. \$5.00.
- MEDICINE: AN HISTORICAL OUTLINE.** By M. G. Seelig. Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Company, 1925, xviii, 207 pp. \$2.25.
- THE MEDICAL SCIENCES IN THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES.** By Theodor Billroth. New York: Macmillan, 1924, xiii, 292 pp. \$3.50.
- THE SALEM WITCH TRIALS.** By William Nelson Gemmill. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1924, v, 240 pp. \$2.00.
- ETHICS: ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT.** By Prince Kropotkin. New York: Lincoln Mac Veagh, The Dial Press, 1924, xvi, 349 pp. \$4.00.
- PROBLEMS OF LIFE.** By L. Trotsky. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1925, 114 pp. \$1.50.
- SELECTED ESSAYS OF WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER.** Edited by A. G. Keller and Maurice R. Davie. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924, xv, 356 pp. \$3.00.
- THE PASSING OF POLITICS.** By W. K. Wallace. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925, 328 pp. \$5.00.

PROFESSOR DAVIES' book, which has a supplementary chapter on American historical works by Mr. E. W. Pahlow of the Ethical Culture School in New York City, is a readable introductory guide to the more important books in English or in English translation covering the successive periods of human history. It is not a bare bibliography, but contains intelligent comment on the volumes mentioned, and many illuminating observations on the history of the periods dealt with. The author is up-to-date in his historical concepts in general, having apparently been much influenced by Frederic Harrison and F. S. Marvin. He is, unfortunately, rather innocent of the best and most recent American books dealing with the history of the western world, though he is enthusiastic in his praise of such as he is acquainted with, as, for example, Breasted's *Ancient Times*. The works included are not only secondary treatments, but the more notable contemporary writers and sources. Pahlow's chapter on books dealing with American history is conventional, but judicious. This book should prove of

great value to the public and general reader. Mr. L. thoughtfulness inconsistent exploit his progress—bition. T "Cratics," rules, or la of history in the c author's h the assum self in sub history co formula o broad way and holds ligion, ed to defend the immir western c many dang cultures d author's i integration accepts fu history, r Osborn Ta aided effor of things e dence, fro ideals wh cause prog is evidence the greatest Evidently of Uncle S civilization or Augustu for dissent rather gene historians present day



great value to teachers of history in the public and preparatory schools, and to general readers of history.

Mr. Leavenworth has produced a thoughtful if somewhat dubious and inconsistent work which attempts to exploit history in the service of human progress—surely a laudable if risky ambition. This program he designates as "Cratics," "the practical art which uses rules, or laws, drawn from the repetitions of history to sway present civilization in the direction of progress." The author's historical philosophy rests upon the assumption that "history repeats itself in substance" and that "every page of history contains a drama as well as a formula of progress." He accepts in a broad way the cyclical theory of history, and holds that we must make use of religion, education and pragmatic history to defend the present generation against the imminence of a descending curve of western culture which is threatened by many dangers such as have carried earlier cultures down to ruin. In spite of the author's frank admission of the disintegration of earlier civilizations, he accepts fully the providential theory of history, recently expounded by Henry Osborn Taylor. "Man by his own unaided efforts would make a terrible mess of things except for the guidance of Providence, from which he receives the great ideals which permeate civilization and cause progress. . . . Human progress is evidence of divine Providence. That is the greatest of all the lessons of history." Evidently God is far more solicitous of Uncle Sam and John Bull than of the civilizations of Rameses, Sargon, Pericles or Augustus. In general, the chief basis for dissent from Mr. Leavenworth is the rather general agreement among dynamic historians that the conditions of the present day are so divergent from those of

any earlier period that the past furnishes little adequate information to guide us in the midst of our present perplexities. History can be pragmatically useful chiefly by dispelling the paralyzing illusion of the validity and utility of the "wisdom" or experience of the past.

The interesting little book by Mr. Bell is a cogent and pertinent critique of liberal as well as conservative Christian theology. The author combines here the philosophical urge and guidance derived from the late Prof. C. E. Garman of Amherst College with a mastery of the scholarship upon which modern liberal theology is founded. Mr. Bell pleads for the pragmatic value of a socialized theology based upon a conception of the universality of religion, God and the Church. This he believes to be the only promising and adequately dynamic foundation for a concerted effort to solve our contemporary social problems. The most telling portion of the book is Chapter VII, which conclusively indicts the modernist for his insistence upon sticking doggedly and exclusively to the Bible and Jesus as the basis of his teachings and program. Mr. Bell proves the logical fallacy in any such procedure. "Modern theology fails to meet the universal need not simply by reason of what it teaches, but far more by reason of what it neglects to say. It is at fault in confining itself to the Bible not so much because the Bible is not helpful as because there are other messages from God. To take one illustration, God spoke to the ancient Greeks in a way that he did not speak to the Hebrews or to any one else; and the Christian Church by taking no account of this message in neglecting the Word of God. . . . Unless modern Christianity can show, as it has not yet done, that Jesus, the historic man of Nazareth, is to be identified in a unique way with the ever

present Spirit of God, it must cease to center around him. Modern Christianity fails because it points men backward rather than forward for the ideal." Few Modernists have ever essayed to answer in adequate fashion this crucial critique of their position. Professor Brightman's work is a clear and well organized introductory manual in philosophy. It rests, however, upon distinctly metaphysical and theistic assumptions, and the framework is eminently traditional. The old and the new in philosophical trends can be well illustrated by comparing this book with the *Introduction to Reflective Thinking* recently published by the Columbia Associates in Philosophy.

Professor Adams has written a lucid elementary psychological manual of a strictly conventional sort. It is almost entirely devoted to conscious processes and to the purely "normal" mental states. The time has assuredly come when this procedure is manifestly inadequate even in an introductory textbook. The most notable aspect of the work is the admirable collection of cuts illustrating the anatomy of the brain and central nervous system. The collection of essays by Dr. Brown on psychology and the social sciences is an able and stimulating one. Particularly noteworthy are the chapters on Marett on psychology and anthropology, by Rawlinson on psychology and theology, and by Brown on psychology and medicine. The authors as a group are not only well grounded in the conventional psychology of conscious states, but are for the most part conversant with the newer synthetic or dynamic psychology. It is a particularly valuable work for the historian and the social scientist.

Professor Tozzer's book is the first important synthesis of cultural anthropology produced by the alert and active

group at the Peabody Museum at Harvard University. It covers such subjects as basic methods and theories; the general nature of primitive man and primitive society; the crises in the life of primitive man; marriage and the family; social organization and classes; and government, law and ethics. There is an interesting appendix containing illustrative material on the superstitious beliefs and practices of Harvard freshmen. While not intended as a formal textbook, Professor Tozzer's work will provide a most readable and adequate introduction to the study of primitive society for those who desire a book about intermediate between Marett's entertaining little work, and the systematic and advanced manual by Prof. A. L. Kroeber. The book also proves conclusively that the critical anthropology in American is no longer limited to Boas and his students of the "Columbia School." E. S. Hartland is well known to readers of anthropological literature as a productive writer of the evolutionary or Frazerian school, the members of which are now in rather thorough disrepute except as industrious compilers of dubiously classified and expounded concrete information concerning various aspects of primitive life and culture. His previous publications have dealt chiefly with primitive mythology, fairy-tales, and sex concepts and practices. The present work is a systematic survey of primitive law and legislation, and fills a long existent gap in the literature of the subject in English. While infinitely superior to such a work as Letourneau's *Evolution of Law*, it will need to be used gingerly because of the defects of the methodology of comparative ethnology. In this regard it should be compared with the chapter on "justice" in Lowie's *Primitive Society*. Professor Buxton's book is a more reliable and original work. It has profited much

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by the competent advice and scrutiny of R. R. Marett, the foremost living exponent of the critical ethnology in England. There has been no general work of this sort previously published in English, and we have been compelled to depend upon monumental German works or upon incomplete accounts in such books as those by O. T. Mason or the Quennells. Professor Buxton covers his subject in systematic fashion, divided into three parts: the specialization and division of labor, the geographical factors involved in primitive industry, and the stages and types of primitive labor, particularly as affected by the geographical setting. The book is not only a valuable contribution to anthropological synthesis, but will also be of the greatest service to the genetic economist and the historical sociologist. It is the only elementary exposition in existence of the threshold to economic history.

Prof. G. Lowes Dickinson has performed a most useful service in writing what is probably the most illuminating introductory interpretation of Greek life and thought. It is ideally adapted to the needs of the student of intellectual history or the general reader who desires to obtain a competent but readable exposition of the intellectual attitudes and achievements of the Greeks, as compared with the previous oriental attitudes and the outlook of the subsequent Christian era. It will prove exceptionally serviceable to teachers of the intellectual history of Europe who have long been in need of a general survey of the Greek period, and it will be just as valuable to students of the history of sociological theory who desire to obtain the proper background for the study of the social thought of the Greeks. The treatment falls into four parts: the Greek view of religion, the Greek view of the state, the Greek view of the individual, and the Greek view of art.

Dr. Wright's book is a monumental and systematic contribution to medieval thought and science. It contains not only a comprehensive survey of medieval geographical knowledge and theories, but also an admirable introductory review of the classical and patristic geographical lore. It provides a vast body of relevant and interesting information for the geographer, historian of science, and the student of intellectual history. It rests upon extensive research and a mastery of the more important source-material and secondary monographs. It is equipped with elaborate notes, and an extensive bibliography. It is one of the most notable of the American contributions to the increasingly important field of the history of science.

The two little volumes by Dr. Beer constitute a continuation of his earlier work on *Social Struggles in Antiquity*. They cover the period from the fourth to the eighteenth centuries. The series as a whole is a moderate exercise in the socialistic application of the thesis of economic determinism to the history of ideas and social movements in the western world. The first volume under review is an effort to discover the economic basis of Apostolic and Patristic theology, scholasticism, and the heretical movements. Special and extensive attention is devoted to the Cathari, but the Waldenses, Lollards and others are not neglected. The second volume deals with the rise of modern times, the capitalistic revolution, the Reformation and the social struggles which accompanied them. About half of the book is devoted to the social movements and ideals connected with the rise of Protestantism, and the remainder to the nature and economic origins of the crop of Utopias from Sir Thomas More to the writings of the radicals of the period of the French Revolution. While limited by devotion to his dominating



thesis of economic causation, the two books are based upon wide knowledge of the relevant literature and constitute a most useful and suggestive addition to the available material on the history of social reform movements and programmes.

Dr. Horrocks' book is especially welcome because there has been no general historical survey of the Mercantilist movement in Europe and America. Most of the material in English, with the exception of Dean Small's monograph on the Cameralists and Sargent's work on Colbert, has been devoted to English Mercantilism and its relation to the American Revolution; and Schmoller's old book was too brief, general and controversially theoretical. Dr. Horrocks has read widely, and has here assembled a serviceable summary of ancient Mercantilism, and of early modern Mercantilism in England, Spain, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Russia, Japan, America and several minor countries. There is a stimulating concluding chapter on the old Mercantilism and the new Protectionism, and an excellent and discriminating bibliography. The book will be about equally important for the economic historian and the student of the history of economic thought.

From the days of Seeley to the present writing and teaching of William Robert Shepherd historians of an alert type have become convinced in increasing numbers that the expansion of Europe and the Commercial Revolution provide the only adequate clue to the interpretation of the disintegration of medievalism and the rise of the modern age. Unfortunately, Seeley has only a brief lecture and some casual references to the subject, and Shepherd, with the exception of a concise theoretical outline, has confined himself chiefly to a remarkably systematic and comprehensive course of university lectures which have not been published.

Among his students Gillespie and Botsford have dealt only with the effect of the expansion of Europe on English society to 1800. In 1917 Professor Wilbur Cortez Abbott, then of Yale, published a large two volume work on the subject. This now appears slightly revised, with the two volumes bound in one for textbook convenience. The book is a veritable mine of information on the economic, social, political and intellectual history of Europe from 1415-1789, but it is not organized particularly well to illustrate most evidently the direct relation between the movement of expansion and the trends in European development during this period. This defect might in part be overcome by using as a syllabus for the organization of the book the outline provided in Shepherd's articles in the *Political Science Quarterly* for 1919.

Dr. Seelig's sketch of the history of medicine is excellently adapted to the use of the student of the history of thought and science. Clear and readable, it is technically competent and reliable. While no approach to Garrison's work as a comprehensive and detailed history of medicine, it presents the salient phases of the development of the science and practice of medicine in such a way as to make it easily accessible and intelligible to the lay reader and the student of history. It is profusely illustrated. Billroth's book is a thorough study of the development of medical science in the German universities, an analysis of the status of the various branches of medicine, a survey of the methods of instruction in the medical profession, and a résumé of the various types of examination for the medical degree and the practice of medicine. It should be especially useful to American students contemplating post-graduate work in medicine in Germany and Austria.

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of the notorious Salem witch trials. It is devoted largely to accounts of the individual trials, with some introductory material on the theoretical and cultural background of the belief in diabolism and witchcraft. The concrete descriptive material seems accurate enough, and is vivid and illuminating, but there are a few slips in the general understanding of the period and types, as may be seen from the statement that "the Puritan is the one man who did not come to the New World for trade, or worldly advantage. He came that he might worship God in his own way." As a whole the book furnishes the basis for an interesting exposition of a significant chapter in the intellectual and religious history of colonial America.

Kropotkin's posthumous work is one of the most important contributions to date to the subject of the history of ethical theories and of the importance of a sound body of ethical doctrine and practice for the health and prosperity of society and the individual. P. V. N. Myers wrote some years ago an interesting work on *History as Past Ethics*, in which he dealt with the history of both ethical theories and practices. Very recently Prof. R. C. Givler has produced a notable plea for a naturalistic reconstruction of conduct in harmony with the findings of physiology, psychiatry and sociology. Kropotkin in a sense unites these two programs and achievements. After a chapter on the contemporary need for a sound and scientific body of ethical practice, he sets forth his views on the naturalistic basis of ethics, which is to be found in the application of the principles of sociability, sympathy, equity and justice. These concepts bring the present work into theoretical conformity and sequence with his justly famous *Mutual Aid: a Factor of Evolution*. The majority of the book is devoted to a history of ethical

doctrines from primitive times through the nineteenth century. This historical survey is particularly interesting because the successive ethical theories are critically appraised from a naturalistic and sociological, rather than a metaphysical or transcendental, point of view. The book is not seriously warped by the well-known economic and social theories of the author, and is a contribution of the first importance to the sciences of sociology and ethics. Trotsky's volume is an effort at a constructive theory of life by the former Bolshevik leader. It embodies a relinquishment of many of the original ideals of Soviet Russia. He repudiates the idea of the desirability of a complete break with the past and the development of a purely proletarian culture. He recognizes the value of a reconstructed family, and the inevitability of human inequality in possession and achievement. But he contends that however unequal people may be in native endowment they should be given an equal opportunity through education. This leads him to the core of his social program—the communal education of the Russian children. The wastes of revolution and the many original mistakes of the Bolshevik régime are frankly recognized.

The new collection of Sumner's essays by Keller and Davie constitutes a selection of some of the more stimulating numbers from the original four volume series edited by Professor Keller. It contains such famous essays as "Legislation by Clamor," "The Absurd Effort to Make the World Over," "The Forgotten Man," "Earth Hunger," and "War." It furnishes a representative anthology of Sumner's stimulating thought and forceful style.

Mr. Wallace's book is the sequel to his suggestive *Trend of History*. His thesis is that the scientific and technological revolutions of the last two centuries have

created a new order—an economic age—which has supplanted the political era that intervened between medievalism and contemporary society. It is the function of the historian to make this clear, and to discredit the a priori philosophical approach upon which the political illusion rests. "It is by applying the test of history to the problems of group life, it is by attempting to remove the covering from politics and abandoning the haphazard methods of philosophical speculation that we may hope to arrive at a clear understanding of current social tendencies.

. . . . The economy of the new age is bursting the bonds of the political organization of society, and demands a new scheme of social arrangements. The new psychological attitude reveals that politics can no longer offer an adequate channel of approach. . . . As an historical view-point is replacing philosophy, it may be expected to offer what may be tentatively called a materialist moral code." While distinctly a defense of a special thesis, the book is an able one which should be examined with respectful care by historians and social scientists. His general position has many thoughtful supporters.

**THE GROWTH OF THE LAW.** By Benjamin N. Cardozo. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924, 145 pp. \$1.75.

**LAW AND MORALS.** By Roscoe Pound. Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1924, vii, 156 pp.

**LAW AND ITS ADMINISTRATION.** By Harlan F. Stone. New York: Columbia University Press, 1924, viii, 232 pp. \$2.50.

The policy of isolation by which law and the social sciences have been studied under a system of exclusive, thought tight, compartments, securely insulated against either sympathetic or intellectual contacts, has not brought the advantages of specialization, because the division of

effort has been too largely along artificial lines. Moreover the existence of certain wide-spread and deeply rooted convictions regarding the nature of the judicial process, together with a too common acceptance among lawyers of the necessity of a mechanical system of jurisprudence as a guarantee of certainty and uniformity have proved tremendous obstacles in the pathway of legal science. Add to this the temperamental differences of writers that have tended to drive them either to the logical extreme of mechanical certainty or to the substitution of sociological theory for legal principles and judicial experience and we encounter difficulties of the first magnitude. Proposals to consider the relation of law to morals or to study the possibilities of sociological jurisprudence, have not received the sympathetic attention they deserved. The confusion of terms and the impact of conflicting prejudices have impeded intelligent discussion.

There are unmistakable signs, however, of new intellectual currents being released that will contribute intelligence, realism and fact to the discussion. These forces have formed expression in many notable contributions such as Frankfurter's "Realism in Constitutional Law," in the inclusion of statistical data in the opinions of Justice Brandeis in the movement of sociology which Small describes as the "drive toward objectivity," and in the efforts of political science and allied subjects to evolve a scientific method. In other words the scientific spirit is permeating the study of law and its allied disciplines. Judge Cordozo's *The Nature of the Judicial Process* was a notable contribution to the subject and is admirably supplemented by the lectures published in the present volume. Dean Pound's preeminent leadership in this movement is too well known to be discussed, and his

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lectures in the present volume present a scholarly summary and analysis of the history and present status of the controversy over the relation of law and morals. Justice Stone's volume, also a series of lectures, originally published in 1915, and merely reprinted now, has at least one chapter, "Law and Justice," that is significant in its bearing upon the theses of the other volumes. The volume is otherwise concerned with a non-technical discussion for lay readers of some of the basic problems of law and its administration.

It is highly significant that both Cordozo and Pound have felt that their efforts have done little more than to state the existence and nature of the problem. This they have both done brilliantly and from different points of view, Dean Pound approaching the problem largely from its development in legal literature and practice, Judge Cordozo from the point of view of a searching analysis of the nature of the judicial process as an instrument of social control. They would reject the ultimate implication of strict mechanical jurisprudence that law is an end itself, that it affords its own justification, and that the utility of its legal principles is demonstrated by the mere fact that they are law.

Then what shall be the criterion for judging the quality of legal principle? How will those who are responsible for directing and moulding the course of legal development, know which way to direct? Will formal logic suffice? Will they resort to ethics? Will descriptive sociology point the way? Will the capricious speculation of the judicial mind as to what is just be the criterion by which precedents, analogies and doctrines are to be followed, rejected or modified?

Two questions present themselves at the very threshold of the discussion. First: Is the court to have any part in legal growth or is that the sole preroga-

tive of the legislature? Second: If the court is to have a hand in legal development, to what extent is such judicial participation legitimate? Analytical jurisprudence tends to deny any such function to the court. The court's function is merely the application of legal doctrines and standards to particular cases by a legalistic and mechanical process that leaves no room for the play of other forces. This view is bolstered up by a plausible agreement that it is essential to maintain the certainty and uniformity of the law. On the other hand there are the sentimental reformers, who see no need of such standards of certainty and who would substitute "modern sociological theories" for settled doctrine and established standards.

The chief value of these volumes is found in their intelligent efforts to reconcile these opposing views. Judge Cordozo starts his opening lecture with the declaration that the first need of the law is a restatement that "will bring certainty and order out of a wilderness of precedent. The second is the need of a philosophy that will mediate between the conflicting claims of stability and progress, and supply a principle of growth." He is perfectly aware that in certain fields of law certainty is of dominant importance and practically closes the door to legal growth by judicial process. On the other hand he makes it clear that the idea of mechanical jurisprudence in other fields is not only undesirable but impossible. He cites illuminating incidents where the courts have been forced to choose between competing theories and evolve new principles for novel problems. In such cases the court cannot ignore a consideration of the ends of law. One cannot read these lectures and still indulge in the fiction that the court has no legitimate function in legal development.

Dean Pound while coming at the prob-

lem from a different point of view, comes to the same conclusions. He recognizes the claims of certainty and uniformity as desirable elements in a legal system and particularly in certain fields of jurisprudence. He makes the distinction between the law making function of the legislature and the courts in a vigorous and convincing statement (pp. 50-54). But he makes it clear that there is a scope of judicial discretion which the most rigorous logic and mechanical formalism cannot close, and it is here that morals may and should become a factor in legal development through the judicial process. And he says the same thing of all the social sciences and their relation to law (pp. 123-4). Occasionally the court must choose, formulate or develop legal doctrines and standards. In so doing it cannot ignore the ends of justice, nor reject the contributions of the social sciences to an understanding of the realities of life.

Justice Stone's conclusions are along the same lines. He combats vigorously the idea that judicial decision can be founded on the generalizations of descriptive sociology, popular notions of social justice, or the court's individual conception of what is right. But he recognizes and approves of the judicial process being influenced by "the pressure of facts proven in court which lead ultimately to the recognition that established precedent does not work well, either because it does not harmonize with other earlier rules or because of change of conditions or because it does not square with the settled moral sense of the community" (p. 47). If he differs at any place it would be in the thought that the opportunities for judicial influence, in legal development were not as great as has been suggested by the other writers, and the contributions of social science not as significant or important.

These volumes should render great ser-

vice in clearing the atmosphere by a lucid and intelligible statement of the problem in terms capable of popular understanding and in the emphasis they place upon the importance of studying the nature of the judicial process and its bearing upon legal development. It is an aspect that neither the scholar nor lawyer can safely ignore. In fact there is much reason to believe that the most brilliant careers at the bar have been largely due to a subconscious analysis and understanding of the judicial process.

ARNOLD BENNETT HALL.

*University of Wisconsin.*

DEMOCRACY AND LEADERSHIP. By Irving Babbitt. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924, 349 pp. \$3.00.

TWO ORDEALS OF DEMOCRACY. By John Buchan. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925, vi, 56 pp. \$2.00.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES. (Revised edition.) By William Bennett Munro. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925, x, 687 pp. \$3.50.

CITIZENSHIP: AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL ETHICS. By Milton Bennion. Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.: World Book Company, 1925, xii, 219 pp. \$1.40.

If one reviews critically the arguments of those who have attempted in recent times to evaluate the theory of democracy, it will be found that the problem of democracy reduces itself fundamentally to this question. Is the attempted application of the democratic theory itself the direct cause of the present day social maladjustments in democratic states, or are these maladjustments merely concomitant problems—coincidences that have their origins in an ever increasing social complexity, and which would exist regardless of the form of political or social organization? The answer to this question will largely determine one's attitudes towards democracy. To those like Faguet, LeBon, Maine, Lecky, Ludovici and others, the answer seems clear that

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in the democratic theory itself are the seeds that foredoom democratic experiments to failure. On the other hand, to writers like Cooley, Giddings, Small, Lowell, Bryce, Follett, Godkin, Mecklin, and Hobhouse (to mention only a few of those who espouse the cause of democracy) the source of the ills of modern society lies outside of the democratic tendencies of the times: democracy has simply developed synchronously with a period of momentous cultural change. While recognizing the imperfections of modern democracies, these latter students have firm belief that democracy itself will enable society to overcome the modern social imperfections.

The four authors whose books are being considered here fall, in varying degree, into the group of those who have faith in the democratic principles as they understand them.

Professor Babbitt, head of the French department at Harvard, is the most dubious, and the most difficult to classify. He does not condemn democracy outright, but sees in recent democratic tendencies an egregious perversion. The democracy of Washington and Lincoln he upholds; the democracy of a Roosevelt he denounces. One feels he would prefer much more of aristocracy in place of the present type of democracy, as least so far as this country is concerned. He has obvious aristocratic leanings, and strong distrust of "the common people." His aristocratic tendencies are prompted no doubt by the belief that outer checks would thereby impede the growth in humanitarianism. Professor Babbitt comes to his problems through his study of Rousseau in particular, and in Rousseau he sees the beginnings of the corruption of sound democracy.

The trouble at present, as viewed by Professor Babbitt, is that the traditional

controls on human behavior have broken. The standards of the past, largely religious, have fallen, and there have not developed new standards to replace them. Man is not, as he regards him, the idyllic creature that Rousseau visioned, but a creature that stands in constant need of checks. Without these, he runs rampant socially. With the passing of the traditional checks, and under the stimulus of Rousseau, a humanitarian movement and false notions of social justice developed. The result is the expansive, centrifugal tendency of present-day democracy. Modern democracies are "on their way," but they do not know where. Professor Babbitt fears it to be another case of going, going, gone. He sees utter disruption and decadent imperialism unless a halt is called to the uncontrolled democratic trend.

Professor Babbitt, with his Aristotelian ideas, supplemented by a host of stand-pat prejudices, distrusts all modern movements whereby social welfare is to be achieved through group action. Direct primaries, the initiative and referendum, public ownership, "the rant of Samuel Gompers"—all of these and much more, throw him into intellectual consternation. "The people," if they are not actually fools, he implies, at least behave as fools would—hence his distrust of them.

Sharp and cynical, Professor Babbitt criticizes brutally the present trends. There is only one way out: there must be new standards and checks, and these checks must be within the individual—his own will. These new standards, with wise leaders, would serve to hold democracy in check, without which checks democracy is unsafe.

As the volume makes evident, Professor Babbitt is a man of tremendous erudition, and his analysis of the philosophy of Rousseau is as penetrating as any in Eng-



lish. When he is tracing the historical development of ideas, he is brilliant, but when he begins to apply his philosophical conclusions to modern democratic problems, he is carried away by his prejudices. He does not view his problem with intellectual balance. He does not, for example, consider the question propounded at the outset of this review. And he falls into the common error of comparing incomparables. It is hardly sound to contrast the worst phases of modern democracy with the highest phases of Oriental development under Confucianism. Yet it is just such comparisons that he makes frequently, and of course, they redound to the disadvantage of modern democracy. It is a one-sided picture that he draws, and one out of perspective. Moreover, he regards the problem purely from the philosophical plane; it is to him a chapter in the history of thought. Therein lies a fault—he overlooks the tangible side of culture and the part it may be contributing to the disorders that alarm him. In them may well be the causes of maladjustment.

At the other extreme is the tiny volume by John Buchan. The only thing these two men have in common is their admiration for Lincoln. And they admire him for different reasons. To Babbitt, Lincoln is the upholder of a sound democratic philosophy; he was the great unionist, rather than an emancipator. To him, Lincoln the great emancipator is a myth. To Colonel Buchan the reverse holds true. His book in large measure is devoted to the character of Lincoln which he presents with an idealism that crowns Lincoln with the halo of a saint. One at times forgets he is reading of a flesh and blood man. One never does when one reads Babbitt's analysis.

As a contribution to historical knowledge or sociological analysis of democracy,

Colonel Buchan's book is of trivial importance. As an example of inspiring oratory and as an appeal to feelings of national pride, it is not without vigor. The text was delivered as a war-memorial address at Milton Academy. The thesis is that the American Civil War had many parallels with the World War, and that from America's experience in the earlier conflict much was learned that was carried over to the campaign of 1914-1919. "In that four years struggle (the Civil War), as I see it, all the main strategic and tactical developments of the Great War were foreshadowed." Colonel Buchan's analysis scarcely warrants such a conclusion. Colonel Buchan's enthusiasm for democracy is highly reminiscent of the historian Bancroft; they eulogize democracy to the plane of a religion.

Professor Munro's volume is a revised edition of the text bearing the same title and originally published in 1919. Much less abstract than Beard, though not perhaps as compact as Ogg and Rae, Professor Munro's book is one of great merit. It is characterized by a tremendous faith in the possibilities of democracy, and analyzes the structure of our own government with great clarity. Naturally it stresses the political side, but not to the exclusion of the significant social forces that have worked in shaping our governmental system. About two-thirds of the book is devoted to the federal system, and the remainder to the state and local units. The book has been considerably changed; there has been some rearrangement, and several new chapters are included. This reorganization adds further to the unity of the volume and should add to its usefulness as a college text.

Professor Bennion's book is a text in social ethics for use in freshman college courses and high school senior classes. The essential idea permeating the volume

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AN INTRODUCTION  
By Philip A.  
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is that efficient democracy must rest on intelligent understanding of the duties of a citizen. The first half is given to a discussion of social inheritance so that the pupil may see the sources from which his own civilization is derived; as well as a consideration of the major political problems that the voter is called upon to face. The second part deals with the responsibilities that the citizen must bear, beginning with those of the family, and down through those of business, the community, the state, and the nation.

The book aims to give young students a point of view based on the principle of group solidarity and social welfare. It is the type of book that Professor Babbitt would condemn, but which most modern sociologists would endorse heartily. There is very little illustrative material in the text, which amounts to an expanded outline. To off-set this, and probably as a pedagogical device, a third section is devoted to "Lesson Outlines" with things for the students "to observe" and "to do." These are in the nature of elementary research projects designed to give the student appreciation of his own society. In the hands of a good teacher this book should be exceedingly effective. The lesson outlines are skilfully drawn; without them the text would scarcely be usable for its abstract statements would be beyond the grasp of the elementary student. There is much to be said for attempting, as this book does, to give the elementary students a point of view rather than fill their heads with facts on all the major social problems.

MALCOLM M. WILLEY.

Dartmouth College.

AN INTRODUCTION TO MODERN SOCIAL PROBLEMS.  
By Philip A. Parsons. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924, xiv, 288 pp. \$2.50.

Professor Parsons sits by the bed-side of a sick world, takes its history, feels

its pulse, and, in accordance with the best modern methods, makes elaborate diagnosis. The world is inclined to be impatient at so much ado about so little, but the physician has seen other civilizations, which, in spite of a fair outside, have been mortally ill. In fact, civilizations have thus far without exception passed from a period in which sound bodies, wholesome morals and an ethical religion made possible rapid advance, through a period of flower and decay, and concluded in collapse and disintegration. *Sic transiit gloria Babylonis, Egypti, Graeciae, Romae*. It is only by a devoted application of our scientific knowledge to the understanding and solution of our own problem that we can avoid a like fate. If that fate overtakes us, there is little prospect that there will ever be another civilization. The hordes of barbarians who built up new civilizations on the ruins of old are wanting.

The author offers us in compact and readable form the best knowledge of our time as to our evil state and its cause. While briefly discussing some concrete and acute manifestations of social pathology, the author prefers to think of the social problem as a whole, a menace to civilization which may be defined in various ways. In one of the most original parts of the book he brings together the various definitions that may be given.

1. In economic terms. "No civilization has solved the problem of how to distribute a surplus of material goods."

2. In psychological terms. The social problem is due to a conflict of ideas and ideals," which may be traced to the fact that "with the exception of the idea of liberty, our conduct determinants are inherited from remote and different civilizations."

3. In sociological terms. "Human beings have not learned how to live together under the conditions of civilization."

4. "It may be that civilization produces problems too complicated for the limitation of human intelligence." But he believes that "no problem created by society is too difficult for human intelligence equipped with knowledge."

5. "Civilizations decay because they put too great a strain upon the human organism."

6. "Democratic civilization tends to eliminate its superior elements and reduce its physical stock to a dead level of mediocrity at which progress ceases and civilization decays."

If we are to make it possible for civilization to progress indefinitely, we must not only visualize the social problem as a whole with these different aspects, but we must mobilize our resources in a united attack upon it. We must guarantee the foundations of a stable social order by checking physical degeneracy, revising and strengthening our morals, creating and socializing religious devotion; we must reconquer the strength of that barbaric life which made the civilizing process possible. We must either socialize wealth or prevent its accumulation, we must educate our youth to choose social rather than material and individualistic ideals, we must learn to live together, to use our intelligence to solve social problems, we must be content to put no greater strains upon the human machine than it will bear, we must so reward the superior group as to permit them to direct and control society and perpetuate their kind.

If for once a sociologist does not bid us pursue and eradicate the causes of our problems, it is for the excellent reason that they are also the causes of all that we prize. The genealogy of our modern problems finds far back in the family tree (1) a new knowledge about man and his world, (2) the discovery of new

worlds, (3) the Industrial Revolution. Fundamentally, it is increasing knowledge that has had such unexpected and undesired offspring. We may perhaps expect, as Haldane and Russell have prophesied, that the future, which belongs to biological and anthropological science, will be no less fertile in problems than the past of the physical sciences. Knowledge begets great social forces, which beget shifts in population, in means of making a living, in the distribution of wealth, and religious or intellectual changes. These shifts are the immediate causes of social friction, of maladjustment, of the breakdown of social institutions—to the thoughtful, social problems, and to the maladjusted, cause for all the manifold forms of social unrest, more or less articulate, which seek to re-shape the world nearer to the heart's desire. Professor Parsons devotes stimulating chapters to each of the shifts which form the background of modern social problems, and to social unrest, and the book ends with a statement of the modern attitude toward social problems as expressed by the social betterment movement.

Our new knowledge has destroyed the old world in which we lived and moved and had our being with more or less harmony, more or less equilibrium, and in the free, new world selfishness is unrestrained. We cannot go back, but we can cultivate altruism. Fundamentally the author sees the social problem as a conflict between Christian and humanitarian ideals which tend to emphasize spiritual values and make for the common good and a materialistic individualism. But perhaps there is more to be said for individualism, even as a philosophy of social progress, than Dr. Parsons will admit.

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of pessimism (though why it should be material for an indictment except when it paralyzes action, which it certainly does not in his case, it is hard to see), and is confident that our situation "contains a measure of hopefulness never accorded a preceding civilization." Yet many might quarrel with his parallel between our own and other civilizations, and feel that our problems are not so much the symptoms of an almost inevitably decaying culture, as problems of maladjustment in a constantly improving order. Certainly one may legitimately raise the question as to whether in his sympathy for the former view the author has not done scant justice to the latter.

All things considered, however, there is a place in sociological literature for a book of this character, and the author has admirably accomplished his purpose. As to the necessity of such a diagnosis there can be no disagreement among thinking people; disagreement as to matters of proportion and emphasis there is bound to be in a subject which yields to none in complexity. The present reviewer finds himself more and more convinced of the essential rightness of the diagnosis presented by Parsons.

If such a book tends to leave the student thinking too much in terms of abstractions and labels, the author would be the first to admit that it must be supplemented in the training of the social worker by experience and reading that make the individual maladjusted person, torn by conflict of ideals, a living, breathing entity *à connaître*, as the French neatly put it, rather than a fact *à savoir*. His purpose was to provide a text-book to serve as an introduction to applied sociology and to furnish background for those who as social workers will be in constant contact with concrete problems, and will be helped by seeing their connection with

broader issues. For such an audience, and indeed for one much larger, the book should prove most useful as text or general reading. It makes no claim to originality but gives a time and place utility to information—occasionally to opinions clothed in all the dignity of truths—previously unavailable in so attractive a form. Its value is enhanced by a more than usually full and excellent bibliography in which the hand of Harry Elmer Barnes is seen.

W. REX CRAWFORD.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMICS. By Raymond T. Bye. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924, 508 pp. \$4.00.

"I do not intend this book" writes Professor Bye in his preface, "as a contribution to economic theory." "It is frankly a text-book and as such has been written primarily with the aim of making economics teachable." Professor Bye has accomplished his purpose. The neo-classical theory of Alfred Marshall as Americanized by Taussig here finds its clearest expression. The analysis of the forces at work in the fixation of market price and the distribution of income among the factors of population is indeed more adapted to the comprehension of the elementary student than is that of either of Dr. Bye's two masters. Marshall's indefiniteness on crucial issues together with his custom of relegating most of his original contributions either to footnotes or to appendixes makes his work primarily one for the advanced student, while Taussig's diffuseness wearies many who consequently miss the thread of his discussion. Professor Bye states their essential doctrines in a clear and succinct style, and by illustrations from economic life gives to his theoretical analysis the unmistakable touch of reality, the absence

of which has repelled many students from the writings of Clark, Panteleoni, and Böhm-Bawerk.

This is all done, moreover, without "writing down" to his readers—a welcome change from the practise of so many of our American text-book writers. Difficult problems are not shirked, but they are clarified much in the style of Henry Clay's *Economics for the General Reader*, although Bye's work is superior to Clay's in its analysis of value and distribution.

While in the main a convinced follower of the neo-classical school, Professor Bye is not so much of a "die-hard" as many of those who have been trained in the same discipline. Thus he admits Green and Davenport's concept of opportunity cost as a factor in economic cost while he devotes a portion of a chapter to those impelling incentives for effort which are other than purely economic. He points out that the usual discussion of costs as constant, increasing and decreasing is frequently based upon the naïve assumption that the cost curve within an individual business is identical with that for the industry as a whole. In this respect, he profits from Professor Taussig's failure adequately to distinguish between these two factors—a failure which has marred much of the latter's cost analysis. Professor Bye, however, does not apparently recognize the great breaches in the orthodox analysis which this distinction makes. While Professor Silberling's recent article on the "Graphic Representation of the Laws of Price" only elaborates a hint dropped by Marshall in Appendix H of his *Principles* and later treated more fully by Sir Henry Cunyngghame, it is nevertheless valuable in showing what changes the recognition that costs vary between firms in the same industry and that there are many different slopes to the cost curves within these different

firms, makes in the ordinary value theory, modelled as it is upon the famous analogy of the scissors. The cost "curve" for an industry is thus seen to be no beautifully regular affair but instead to be composed of some units produced under decreasing cost in plants with a great deal of idle overhead, some perhaps produced at constant cost while others are produced in enterprises where unit costs increase as more are produced. When to all this is added a striking lack of uniformity in the cost of the first units between plants, it is difficult to bring coherence out of the apparent jumble.

Professor Bye's eclectic temper shows itself in other sections. Thus his treatment of risk shows the influence of L. C. Marshall, Hardy and Knight, while he deftly passes judgment on the attack waged by Moulton and others on the quantity theory of money by concluding that "over short periods of time, the quantity of money will not necessarily be the dominant influence on the general level of prices; over a longer period of time, it seems probable that the average volume of credit will be larger if the money reserves are larger and smaller if the latter are smaller, while the average rate of turnover will be fairly constant, unless there has been some important change in banking customs, laws or institutions."

The discussion is indeed in general so sure-footed that one is somewhat surprised to find the marginal productivity theory of J. B. Clark presented according to the pure milk of the gospel. "A trade union can raise the wages of its members only by reducing the number of workers in the trade. . . ." This statement, of course, ignores the great disparities in bargaining power between the propertyless wage-earner and the powerful corporation, disparities which are par-

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particularly aggravated by the presence of unemployment.

Taken in its entirety, however, Professor Bye has given us an excellent text for a one semester introductory course in Economics. The book suffers at times from compression and a liberal amount of outside reading should be assigned to amplify many of the points which are but briefly touched upon.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS.

*The University of Chicago,  
and Amherst College.*

GENERAL SOCIOLOGY: THE THEORY OF SOCIAL RELATIONS AND OF SOCIAL STRUCTURES. Vol. I. Theory of Social Relations. By Leopold von Wiese. Munchen: Dunkler and Humblot, 1924, x, 309 pp.

Those readers who have come to look upon sociology as the synthesis of all knowledge will be disappointed in this new book by Professor von Wiese. It is neither a handbook for social reformers, nor one of these laborious compilations which aim to compete with the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. But the more serious students of sociology will be grateful to the author for his valuable contribution to the specialized science of social relations.

Within that specialized field of study the author shows a wide knowledge of the literature, not only of his own country and of the continent of Europe but also of England and America. His views regarding the task and subject matter of sociology are most closely related to those of Ross in America and those of Max Weber and Georg Simmel in Germany. Professor von Wiese acknowledges a certain indebtedness to Maxweiler but he is so completely free from the latter's naturalistic prejudice that it is difficult to see the connection.

In common with Georg Simmel the author conceives of sociology as a sci-

tific study of the formal aspect of social relations. It is a study separate and distinct from social psychology and the social sciences on the one hand, and from social philosophy and the philosophy of history on the other hand. Simmel's influence is evident all through the book but while Simmel has given us only the methodological foundation for a formal sociology, von Wiese has actually built its skeleton structure.

In common with Max Weber the author makes a sharp distinction between the general systematic part and the purely historical part of the study. But while Weber neglected to differentiate between sociology as a separate science and sociology as a method in the other social sciences, von Wiese has carefully defined the task and subject matter of the special science.

The influence of these two German sociologists is most in evidence in the methodological and systematic part of the present study. The works of the English and American sociologists have more particularly contributed to the substance and content of the work. The book is therefore the happy product of the combination of systematic, methodical German thought with a wide knowledge of the inductive and empirical studies made by the Americans. It is of importance not merely because of this happy blending of the two essentials of all good science, but also because it represents an effort to systematize our study. The so-called systems of the older sociologists have usually been either cosmologies or classifications of the sciences. But this author has given us a system, which merely aims to organize and classify the phenomena within the specialized field.

Sociology is defined as the study of social relations and social structures. It studies social behaviour from the point



of view of the resulting type of relationship. For that reason it is guided by a different abstraction, than that which defines the subject matter for the other social sciences. The motives and purposes of social behaviour, economic, religious or political are not the primary consideration of sociology. They are of importance only insofar as they determine the formal aspect of the resulting relationships.

The task of systematic sociology is: (a) to define, delimit and describe, (b) to analyze, (c) to measure, (d) to compare, and (e) to organize into a system the purely social processes. It will therefore utilize both inductive and deductive modes of thought. The actual study of empirical processes requires the use of inductive methods. These social processes having been analyzed, described and defined must then be ordered into a system which is itself deductively arrived at. It is also this deductively obtained system which becomes the guiding concept in the inductive study of actual processes. In order to fulfil its function the system must be sufficiently flexible to offer room for all actual and potential types of social processes. That von Wiese's system answers this purpose is due to the fact that it is in reality more an organizing principle than a structure.

Von Wiese has taken as the organizing principle the purely formal distinction between the two possible forms of relative movement of points, namely, toward each other and away from each other. Transferred to the world of social processes this means a distinction between movements toward each other resulting in relations of combination and movements away from each other resulting in relations of separation. All social relations and social processes must therefore belong to either one of three classes.

They are either processes of association, combination, union; or of dissociation, separation, disunion; or they are processes which are partly associative and partly dissociative. This division gives sociology its independent problem as it is with reference to the relative degree of association and dissociation that the actually occurring processes must be investigated and ordered into the system. Apart from the distinction implied in the organizing principle, the author makes a distinction between those processes which occur immediately among individuals and those processes which presuppose the existence of social structures. On the basis of these two distinctions von Wiese has classified the different social processes on a chart in the back of the book. Associative processes of the first order are grouped under the following headings: approach, accommodation, assimilation and union. Dissociative processes of the first order are classified under the headings competition, opposition, conflict. Apart from these there is a column devoted to processes of a mixed nature. Social processes of the second order, those that take place within existing structures, are grouped under processes of differentiation, of integration, destructive processes and transforming processes.

The text of the book is, apart from the introductory chapter, an elaboration of the chart. As there are a few hundred processes dealt with, the treatment has of course been more superficial than exhaustive. The purpose of the author has frankly been to present a schematic picture of the whole of the subject rather than an elaborate treatment of detail. In that aim he has been remarkably successful. His book is a proof that a systematic representation of the subject-matter of a science is not necessarily a hindrance and obstacle to free research.

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As is the case in the present volume it may even be a great help to the student engaged in purely empirical and inductive investigations. Not only will it suggest the relation of his own problems to those of others, but it may even suggest entirely new lines of inquiry. For that reason it recommends itself not only to those interested in theory, but even more, to those who call themselves hard headed empiricists.

NICHOLAS JOHN SPYKMAN.

*Yale University.*

POLITICAL ACTION: A NATURALISTIC INTERPRETATION OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN RELATION TO THE STATE. By Seba Eldridge. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1924, xviii, 382 pp.

In recent years many political scientists have become very much concerned over the unscientific character of their science. They are realizing that speculation, description, historical narrative, and the comparison of structural data, do not provide a foundation that is scientific. There is an increasing demand for objectivity in political research. There is a growing conviction that many of the questions that have been left to the field of political prudence, i.e., political common sense, might be objectively studied and really scientific principles determined and applied. The principal difficulties encountered in this procedure have been those of method and technique. And these problems are complicated by the fact that they lead one over into allied disciplines, particularly psychology and statistics, with which few political scientists are thoroughly familiar.

It follows therefore that any attempt by the representatives of these allied fields to apply their technique and method to the problems of politics, is extremely significant to the field of politics as well

as the whole group of social disciplines. And this is just what Professor Eldridge has done in the present volume. Political discussion has failed to give adequate results, according to this author, for three reasons. First, it has concerned itself too much with ethical idealism and not with the problem of identifying social ideals that are really attainable and the conditions requisite to their attainment. Second, political discussion has proceeded along lines of hopeless generality, instead of first breaking up the problems into such constituent elements, as would make scientific precision possible. Finally there has been a consistent failure to take into account all the factors that determine political events.

With this well drawn indictment as a point of departure, the author devotes about half of the volume to an analysis of the various factors that he thinks may affect political conduct. These factors are hunger, fear, repulsion, pugnacity, sex instinct, parental instinct, acquisitiveness, self assertion, submissiveness, curiosity, constructiveness, gregarious impulses, play tendencies, the physical environment, cultural factors, intellectual processes, hedonic factors and habit. Each one of these is treated in a separate chapter and from the standpoint of its bearing upon political conduct in relation to the labor problem.

The author's conclusion is that class conflict over the labor problem is inevitable because of the nature and relative strength of the factors that control conduct. "Of the instinctive tendencies involved in the situation the more elemental are on the side of conflict, although certain impulses derived from the gregarious and parental tendencies operate in the direction of peace. Fear, repulsion, sex, pugnacity and self-assertion are almost wholly on the side of conflict, while the

more potent impulses associated with the parental, gregarious, constructive and inquisitive tendencies operate in the same direction. Where these latter tendencies operate in the direction of peace, their effect is generally to limit the area of industrial conflict and not to mitigate that conflict when it does occur. The same is true of the submissive tendencies" (p. 217). Moreover the author does not think that political liberalism, democracy, or representative government can avoid the conflict. Considerations of justice, expediency or other rational factors, play but a very minor role in determining the political conduct of majorities. Freedom of discussion is largely impotent, since the power of suggestion through the established methods of communication, is generally controlled by the dominant class and in its interest. Habit, tradition and suggestion generally determine electoral mandates. These factors are usually in the control of the dominant class. It follows "that occasions will often arise where economic groups whose claims are quite just cannot secure a recognition of those claims through the processes of democratic government" (p. 314).

The author has evolved a very suggestive and stimulating method of approach to the problem of political behavior. The analysis of the different factors involved and the attempt to evaluate their relative roles in controlling conduct is ingenious and thought provoking. He has opened up a whole field of research in political statistics, since many of his conclusions are but tentative hypotheses, the validity or invalidity of which may conceivably be objectively determined by statistical studies of political behavior. It is the raising of these problems and the development of a psychological approach to the problem of political conduct that constitutes the chief merit of the book.

The reviewer is not convinced of the accuracy of the author's conclusion that a class conflict is inevitable. It may be admitted that the dominant instincts and tendencies involved in the class struggle are those that normally make for conflict rather than for coöperation. But notice the fact that religious wars, duels, tribal and family feuds, spite boundary litigation, and similar controversies at one time were established institutions in civilized communities, and they gathered to their support the pugnacious rather than the peaceful traits of the people, and that all of these have practically disappeared, because the people found them futile, costly and inimical to their fundamental interests. In view of all of this there is some reason to suppose that class conflicts, followed for the time by class domination, might also prove costly, futile and inimical to the interests of both classes, and that they might be driven by the hard lessons of experience to seek industrial peace by effective compromise through which both classes might secure greater profit than under a régime of periodic conflicts with their waste and loss. However, the reviewer agrees with the author that such changes in the traditions, prejudices and organized sentiments of the classes which would be essential to such a compromise, can come only after a long period of development and experience, and not alone by the simple devices of majority mandates, liberal philosophy, or governmental policy. These factors may contribute to but they cannot dominate the situation.

The author's aims in the method here followed are at once both noble and scientific. "I would substitute for the faith in the ultimate triumph of intelligence and education the concept of limits, upper and lower, within which the social process, given the determining

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factors, must take place, and which it is unlikely to transcend. These limits may be defined, if we set about it patiently and methodically, with some approach to accuracy. Within these limits, as they may be defined by such methods, lies the opportunity for a more competent political science and a more enlightened education to do their work in improving the lot of mankind. Working with such a concept, we could do something at least in the way of substituting scientific prediction for faith in matters social, a valid theory of social possibility for vain Utopias, and reasonable expectations of the future for the hopes and disappointments which beget optimism and pessimism" (p. 367).

ARNOLD BENNETT HALL.

*University of Wisconsin.*

THE FARMER'S CHURCH. By Warren H. Wilson.  
New York: The Century Company, 1925, 264 pp.  
\$2.00.

To many who have read Dr. Wilson's widely used books, *The Evolution of the Country Community* and *The Church of the Open Community* his most recent book *The Farmer's Church* will be somewhat disappointing. From this author we should expect a better summary of the existing conditions in the rural church and suggestions for eradicating its failures and extending its successes. The book lacks in general plan and in the selection and sequence of topics to be treated. Some chapters indicate hasty and immature thought. The old adage that "a shoemaker should stick to his last" is disregarded in several chapters, especially those on "Women," "Domestic Animals and Plants," "Neighbors" and even those on "Moral Values" and "A Word to Bishops and Secretaries." In these the author fails to relate his material definitely enough to the rural church. Too much

triteness is expressed in his descriptions of a country dinner (pp. 62-64) and the care of domestic animals and plants (pp. 104-105). A few of his illustrations border on sentimentalism; e.g., the co-operation engendered by moving and setting up a huge boulder "at the center" brought about such a new spirit that one man abandoned his plans for moving away (pp. 159-161). Very soon afterward the same town experienced a "spiritual crisis" because an old man was accused of having a deficit in some public money. Just at the critical moment he is rescued from disgrace and restored to his honored place in the minds of his fellows, when a "cloud descended upon his mind, and in a few days he died" (pp. 162-163). At another time and place the moving of a "massive boulder" caused a "mysterious joy" (pp. 217-218). Again, the presence of a "well-kept church and parsonage, with a graveyard stretching behind them" cause the author to know "we had arrived at the home of a forty-year pastorate—that this could be no other" (p. 215). There seems to be a contradiction in " . . . the American farm does not pay" (p. 3) and "It (farming) is the best way by which a man without estate may come to possess a property of his own" (p. 5).

The reader can easily take exception the author's definition of religion, "Religion is a form of behavior in the presence of the unknown" (p. 47) and especially to his further statement that "the greatness of religion is measurable by the predominance of mystery over knowledge." One may well question the success of a plan to cure restlessness of young farm women by sending them traveling to see cities, factory towns and business houses with the hope that "they may come home better pleased with their own places" (p. 78). However, one can easily agree

that "the real remedy must come in a complete reversal of the policy of government departments and of the public schools, farm journals, and county agents" (p. 79). In one place (p. 148) the author says those who go to worship are given too many things of a wordly nature such as "politics, law-enforcement, spurious science, sensuous music and church finance" in another place (pp. 208-209) he says, "We should turn aside from the polemical tracts and commentaries, from the conventional theology and hear the master's voice in the daily round of life." How can there be any excuse for the minor but very real mistake of saying the Smith-Hughes Act was passed in 1920 when the correct date is 1917? Some of the most important results of this act were achieved before 1920 (p. 36).

However, only the extreme pessimist can find no good in this book. Anyone who knows rural life will find it easy to read. In various chapters appropriate references are made to the works of Galpin, Kolb, Brunner, Fry, Gillette, Sims, Ward, Arnold, Curtis, Waugh, Plunkett, Maxey, Douglass, Gill, Pinchot; to Roosevelt's Country Life Commission; to various surveys; to McNutt's famous experience at Du Page; to the authors experience at Quaker Hill; two important Farmer's Bulletins and two other writers and movements of lesser note. Hope is offered that the farmer's church may produce better results because its conditions are being studied and because of the growth of the Community Church. The gloomy conditions described in the chapter on "Rural Spirituality" are partially counteracted by the more hopeful conditions in a chapter on "Art and Play." Some excellent and detailed advice is given in a chapter on "County Church Finance," and in one "To the Preacher" regarding his pastoral duties.

The last three chapters, "Length of Service," "The Larger Parish" and "The Efficient Church" also contain valuable material.

OSCAR WESLEY.

*Syracuse University.*

**SOCIAL ASPECTS OF FARMERS' COOPERATIVE MARKETING.**

By Benson Y. Landis. Bulletin No. 4, Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of The Churches of Christ in America. University of Chicago Press, pp. 62. Price 25 cents.

One of the few attempts to consider the social values of coöperative farm effort at marketing farm products in the United States and to do so on a fact-basis. The author has relied upon the publication of the Census Bureau and the Department of Agriculture in Washington, but the particular studies and conclusions of Mr. Landis grow out of the direct studies made by a Rural Committee of the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. In brief the social activities and values of coöperative enterprise in the farm regions of the United States is the burden of this brief bulletin.

In the last nine pages the author summarizes the social aspects of coöperative farm business in the various countries of Europe where coöperative farm business springs out of a social soil on the one hand and in turn enriches it on the other. Mr. Landis makes it clear that in only incidental or accidental ways does farm coöperative business relate itself to farming as a satisfying way of life in the United States. Almost entirely farm coöperation in this country is for business alone. The deliberate attempt to relate it to social causes or consequences is rare and usually ineffective.

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farm coöperatives do not as a rule either ask or expect help from teachers, preachers, colleges or churches.

In round numbers a thousand local associations were studied, in course of which nine school teachers and fourteen ministers were found to be lending assistance to the farmers. A Tennessee minister organized the cheese association in one locality, built the factory with his own hands and acts as secretary-treasurer. In Iowa a strong country church and a strong consolidated school have had much to do with the formation of a strong co-operative egg-marketing association. In Minnesota and North Dakota the Catholic priest is found busy interesting his people in coöperative enterprises. But in the United States only sixty-three of the thousand coöperatives studied reported any assistance whatsoever from either teachers, preachers, schools or churches.

Mr. Landis raises the question of whether or not farm coöperation as a purely business enterprise is likely to succeed. Whether or not the farmers can live by business alone as a coöperative ideal, is a question well worth considering.

It may be said in passing that in the old world countries social values are almost as little considered in farm enterprises as in America. Nevertheless, farm coöperation has unmistakable social values in all the old world countries because (1) the farmers live in compact village groups, (2) because the coöperators know one another intimately and know who can be trusted in business pinches, (3) because coöperative effort springs out of a social soil as naturally as daisies spring up in our meadows at home here, (4) because the social values of coöperative farm enterprises abroad are perfectly natural causes and sequences. It is likely to be found in the long run that the fatal defect

of farm coöperation in America lies in our lack of farm village life.

The bulletin of Mr. Landis is worth studying closely by the farm organizations of the United States. Also by the business men in our cities and by social servants of every grade, type and variety.

E. C. BRANSON.

*University of North Carolina.*

THE SOCIOLOGY OF REVOLUTION. By Pitirim A. Sorokin. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1925, xii, 428 pp. \$2.50.

The world will have to wait for a soberly scientific treatise on Revolution. The present work by an outstanding foe of Bolshevism is but a counterpoise to such a work as Paul's *Creative Revolution*. If the Communist chooses to dilate on the majestic march of the proletariat toward universal power, the disillusioned one-time Socialist retorts with a meticulous catalog of inevitable horrors attendant on revolution and counter revolution.

Professor Sorokin has made an ambitious attempt to analyze in objective and subjective terms the alterations in human behavior, in societal composition, and in social structure and function, that mark the rising and falling phases of revolution. Naturally his main interest is in the Russian revolution, but he systematically cites materials from the other notable revolutions of antiquity and of medieval and modern times by way of reinforcement for his argument. In general, he would define revolution in terms of the sloughing off of the later and higher reactions, the loss of ability to cope with reality, and the general collapse of all the elements of social efficiency. Revolution is the triumph of unreason, of unscrupulousness, of dysgenics. It nourishes a nation "with beefsteaks made out of the flesh of . . . its own children." If it



"forces humanity to learn in the tragic school of life and so contributes to a new and rich spiritual experience of society," "all these beneficent effects are neutralized for a time at least, and with the possible exception of some individual discoveries by the destructive influence of the revolution."

The crudeness of Professor Sorokin's work does not consist solely in his difficulties with the language (which are more excusable in him than in the editor of the series, who is alleged to have undertaken the improvement of the English). A more serious disturbing factor is the intense, and but slightly repressed, passion with which the author marshals his polemic. He endeavors to balance his argument by conceding that "whites" as well as "reds" are involved in the abomination of desolation and by including the periods of reaction from revolution in his sweep. It is hard to believe, however, that he attains to scientific impartiality in such a statement as that in Czarist Russia "the life of every citizen was secure, and the rights of man and citizen were fairly large, as far as personal and proprietary immunity and freedom of press, meetings and associations were concerned." Neither does conviction travel with such an extreme assertion as that "Russia of the present day is the most anti-socialistic and anti-communistic country in the whole world."

The book is impressive in its array of statistical material and psychological analysis. It should be read with care by thoughtless devotees of revolutionary cults. There is no reason to suppose, however, that the author has accomplished his ambition of putting a rational check to revolutionary projects. One lays down the book with the conviction that just as depiction of the horrors of war has no measurable effect for the pre-

vention of war, so the cataloging of the evils of revolution will not substitute a more reasonable method of societal housecleaning. It will take a greater than Sorokin to exercise the blind spirit that balks necessary betterment until the deluge comes. With such an array of causes for revolution as appears in the final chapter of the book, it is too much to expect that social peace can be attained under the present social order.

ARTHUR W. CALHOUN.

*Brookwood College.*

REVELATIONS OF SEX MYSTERIES. By Roderick Thurber. Chicago: The Yogi Publication Society, 1924, 221 pp. \$2.00.

THE NATURAL LAWS OF SEXUAL LIFE: MEDICAL SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCHES. By Dr. Anton Nystrom. St. Louis: C. V. Mosby and Co., 1923, 260 pp. \$2.00.

SEX AND SEX WORSHIP. (Phallic Worship.) By O. A. Wall. St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Co., 1922, 608 pp. \$10.00.

SEX AND CIVILIZATION. By Paul Bousfield. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1925, 294 pp. \$5.00.

THE INTERNAL SECRETIONS OF THE SEX GLANDS. THE PROBLEM OF THE PUBERTY GLAND. By Alexander Lipschutz. Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Company, 1924, 513 pp. \$6.00.

Both Thurber and Nystrom, whose titles arouse some expectation of an introduction into the hidden mysteries of oriental lasciviousness, present sane, wholesome, up-to-date and yet relatively orthodox views of the rôle of sex in nature, in social life, and in the physical and mental health of the individual.

Dr. Wall has presented one of the most unique works in the whole field of sex literature. It is a vast compendium of bits of scientific information, other bits of mythology, still other bits of history or folklore, all strung together in the most unsystematic fashion imaginable. In spite of thousands of historical and other references in the text, very few specific citations to authorities or sources are

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given. The book, therefore, lacks scientific value. It is not informed with penetrating analysis or theoretical interpretation. Despite its undoubted interest it remains a book for the curious, the folklorist and the dilettante looking for the cryptic ramifications of sex symbolism in art, literature and architecture.

The work by Bousfield is another addition to that considerable literature which holds that the differences of the sexes, both physical and mental, are much less extensive than commonly supposed, even if they exist at all. His argument in sustention of this view contains nothing new, unless it be the introduction of a certain amount of psychoanalytical jargon. He relies much on *The Dominant Sex*, by M. and M. Vaerting; makes no reference to the quantitative studies of the statistical distribution of variations and average differences in the two sexes; and relies entirely upon scattered bits of information and *ex parte* interpretations of experimental evidence. Some of the data relating to the influence of the gonads on sex development and the possibility of the alteration of sex after embryological development has begun are presented in support of the theory of fundamental bisexuality. Then comes an utterly ludicrous chapter on "The Phallic Complex" in which the powers of imagination of the average psychoanalyst are shown to be those of a mere tyro. We learn that the worship of the phallus was associated with female domination although it is the symbol of special male potency. Also, necklaces and fur neck pieces are merely phallic symbols; female modesty is based on a subconscious consciousness of the lack of power which only the phallus possesses; in fact, feminine traits, as against masculine, such as modesty and passivity, are only outward expressions of a consciousness of inferiority due

to this same subconscious consciousness, while chivalry in the male is merely an expression of the opposite consciousness; "femininity" is, in fact, merely a reaction against this "phallic complex." All of which is a tremendous draft on the will to believe and is really contrary to earlier chapters where stress is laid upon the effects of the gonadal enzymes in relation to physical and character traits. It must be said, however, that the author is on the whole consistent in one respect, namely, his adherence to the doctrine that the female is by nature, if not by convention, anything but passive in love-making. The author thus makes it clear that the true explanation of the notion of female inferiority is primarily the overvaluation of the phallus and the resulting "phallic complex" in man and woman.

The last four chapters, and the psychoanalysis of Trend in "Appendix," redeem the book from the complete futility suggested by the first nine. There is some discussion of what Thomas in a much more illuminating work called "the adventitious traits in woman" (See his *Sex and Society*). Here the author admits differences both physical and mental, but makes a strong plea against their artificial accentuation. He points to the opposition between human nature and the sex taboos of Christian tradition, especially in relation to the accentuated sex stimulation of the civilized community. Here he is undoubtedly on firm ground, though neither the freshness of idea nor the clarity and vigor of expression are such as to give even these portions of the work any particular distinction.

Turning from Bousfield to Lipschütz is like turning from romance to reality or fancy to fact. This is a thorough and systematic treatise summarizing a multitude of experimental studies on castration, the internal secretions of the sexual

glands, the interstitial cells, the specific sex action of the gonadal hormones, intersexuality, sexual retardation and precocity, and the relation of the sexual hormones to morphological development. If anyone has any lingering doubts of man's organic relationship with the animal world and particularly with the mammals he will find here a type of evidence peculiarly fitted to remove all doubt. Not only do the endocrine systems of man and mammals act so similarly that experiments on the latter are indicative for man, but animal extracts produce in man effects like his own enzymes, and testicular and ovarian tissue may be transplanted from goat or ape to man with remarkable effects. Nor can there be any doubt of the tremendous physiological and psychic effects of the presence or absence of those autonomic hormones which arise in the generative cells and affect not only the other parts of the endocrine system but the entire body. Nor, again, does one find ground for those aprioristic and imaginative idealists, such as Bousfield, who think the differences of the sexes are really negligible. On the contrary, both physical form and physiological mechanisms are intimately affected by the secretions from the sex glands. Physical abnormalities, such as those of the eunuchoid, the castrate and the hermaphrodite, and psychic abnormalities, such as homosexuality, here find an experimental explanation. The work is henceforth indispensable for one who would speak on these matters in the light of the immense amount of medical and biological observation and experiment now extant. It is marked by extreme caution in theorizing and a complete absence of dogmatism. It is well illustrated and thoroughly documented.

FRANK H. HANKINS.

*Smith College.*

PEKING: A SOCIAL SURVEY. By Sidney D. Gamble and John Stewart Burgess. New York: George H. Doran Company. 1921, xxiii + 538 pp. \$4.00.

This is a book for students of social evolution, a mine of information and example for those interested in the influence of population density upon social conditions, and of wide interest even to the casual reader. An excellent summary provides the passing reader with the more striking facts of the survey. While many detailed chapters, careful index and appendices enable the student to follow more closely the methods of the survey. The task was undertaken during the fifteen months ending December, 1919, under the auspices of the Princeton University Center in China and the Peking Y. M. C. A. Peking was chosen because it is the capital city of China and the educational mecca of the new Chinese student movement. A wise word of warning is given against accepting Peking as representative of all of China.

The survey covers a generous range of topics from government to religious work. The curse of government in the one time imperial city is the vast waiting list of over one hundred thousand "expectant officials". . . . though the actual governmental positions do not exceed five thousand. Some of the best men of China are gathered into Peking, living in idleness, subject to the evils of a great city, determined to reimburse themselves for the expense of present waiting if they ever attain office. Sixty-three per cent of the population is male; of these 61 per cent are less than thirty-five years of age. Plainly, Peking is largely made up of "immigrants," seeking education, business training or official position. The majority have left their families behind . . . often for more than eighteen months at a spell.

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With such an unbalanced population it is natural that the social evil should be marked. Venereal infection is spreading among the official and educated classes and the practice of polygyny is increasing among those able to stand the economic strain. Yet western standards hardly suffice in judging fairly of this situation. Unattractive home conditions, early child marriages, the low estimate of woman, and the great lack of wholesome recreation and ordinary social intercourse between the sexes all contribute to the prevalence of prostitution. The houses are graded, licensed and inspected by the police; they are the customary spots for holding important gatherings for business or politics; the girls themselves are versatile entertainers and more educated than the average Chinese woman. Amusement, recreation and purely social visits are the purpose of many of the male clients of such houses. The combined result of such factors is the almost total lack of vigorous public opinion against the "double standard."

Modern education in China did not begin till 1905, but progress in that line has been rapid, and students come to Peking from every province and large city through the land. The Renaissance movement, started in Peking in 1919 as a literary revolution to introduce *in writing* the current spoken language (with its alphabet of but 39 characters in place of the thousands of ideographs of the classical language), has spread over the entire country, and has vastly increased the reading matter available for students. "To save the nation through science and democracy" is the motto of this Chinese Renaissance. The Student movement had considerable influence upon the Peking government in the days of the Shantung award in 1919. Three corrupt officials were compelled to resign as a result of the student-organized boycott of Japanese goods. One instance of the power of

the students is seen in the general strike of protest against the Peking government organized by students and business men of Shanghai. Even the beggars' and thieves' guilds coöperated and no robbery was committed for five days!

The power of the gild is still paramount in Chinese industrial life. Ordinarily the gilds do not even allow a man who develops a new idea to have exclusive use of his invention. Because of the pressure of population on the means of subsistence and the lack of any large scale use of modern machine production, the Chinese have come to believe in combination and the maintenance of the status quo rather than in competition. The general poverty of the population is seen in the expenditures and wage scales cited by the survey. Twelve per cent of the population of Peking are below the poverty line. As one hundred silver dollars a year suffices to put a family of five on a self-supporting basis, what the "submerged tenth" means in China can be easily imagined.

The highly efficient and paternalistic police force, the new movement toward prison reform, the lack of any specific slum area, the church survey and recreation facilities all come in for careful treatment. The survey is a model of what can be accomplished with a small force of largely voluntary workers and a strictly limited budget, in the face of great difficulties. The book is a mine of sociological data, from a land about which generalizations are far too common.

W. H. CROOK.

*Bowdoin College.*

THE SOUTHERN PLANTATION, A STUDY IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND ACCURACY OF A TRADITION. By Francis Pendleton Gaines. New York: Columbia University Press, 1925, ix, 243 pp. \$2.50.

Several of the more critical scholars who have grown up in the South in the

last forty years have expressed views of the inaccuracy of the prevailing notion of the life on the old Southern plantation, but nobody up to this date has presented so clear a statement of the fact as Professor Gaines in the book now before the reviewer. His work is not a study of the plantation as an institution. It is an exhaustive study of that exaggerated ideal of the life on the plantation which has become fixed in our literature through the writings of a large number of sentimental persons. He aptly calls the idea the "Plantation Tradition," and he searches fiction, travel, diaries, essays, popular music, and the drama in his effort to turn inside out the wrongness of the prevailing ideal. His examination of the subject is made in a scholarly spirit and the effect is most convincing.

It is a feature of the book that the "Plantation Tradition" is not, as some persons have thought, essentially a *post bellum* development. It is true that the glamour of the Southern defeat in the sixties gave men like Thomas Nelson Page and Hopkinson Smith a ready hearing for their highly colored romances; but the tendency to overpaint the plantation life had begun long before they wrote. The whole school of Southern literature between the beginning of the century and the outbreak of the civil war was firm in the habit of sentimentalizing over the fine life of the men and women who lived on the plantations. We must, of course, not forget that the artist always idealizes what he touches. But these writers went farther in touching up their characters than we had a right to expect. The result was that the average reader took their picture for true statement and formed views that were unwarranted by actual facts. History and sociology will have a hard task to overtake the error which has gained this long start.

Professor Gaines begins by defining the "Plantation Tradition." He then discusses in five chapters its development in literature, the drama, and popular songs. He closes by discussing in three chapters its relation to actual conditions. There is a chapter on bibliography but there is no index, an omission that every student who has occasion to use the book will note with disappointment.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

*Smith College.*

**FAMILY WELFARE WORK IN A METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY.** By Sophonisba Preston Breckinridge: The University of Chicago Press, xvii, 938, pp. \$4.50.

This volume is one of a series of source books planned to provide scientific material for the use of students in the Graduate School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago and other schools of the same kind. Forty-four cases are presented at some length in the manner in which the problems of each case would present themselves to a case worker. It is assumed the instructor will extract principles from the records. The cases taken from the records of two Chicago welfare agencies, one Jewish, one non-sectarian, deal in eight sections with: (1) families in which sickness gives the opportunity for a service based on coöperation with the medical agencies of the city; (2) problems of insanity and feeble-mindedness and coöperation with public welfare agencies and institutions; (3) the problem of non-residence or inadequate adjustment to the community; (4) widows with small children; (5) welfare agency and the deserted family; (6) unmarried mothers and children born out of wedlock; (7) industrial injury and the family welfare agency; (8) childhood and old age.

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Sections of the Illinois Laws governing procedure in commitment and the work of the public social services are included and the transportation agreement under the auspices of the National Conference of Social Work as well as the transportation rules under the agreement of the National Conference of Jewish Social Service and selected decisions under these rules.

A review of the cases brings out the certainty that has developed in the present approach to problems of family welfare affected by the Mothers' Pension Division of the Juvenile Court and the Industrial Board under the Workmen's Compensation Act compared to the uncertainty of the period preceding the advent of these agencies. The author expects a study of the cases further to reveal: the agencies on which a relief organization relies and the extent of the reliance, similarity of methods of various agencies and advantages of one or another for specific problems. Three Jewish records are said to illustrate "the greater definiteness of the problem where a community is completely served by a closely related group of agencies." The inadequacy of the public agencies from the standpoint of Jewish philanthropic organizations is brought out, as is the harshness of the Bastardy Act, designed primarily to protect the taxpayer. The amount of compensation for industrial injuries is declared inadequate, and compensation machinery is branded as defective until there is developed as an organic part of it a division that would correspond with the social service departments of hospitals or of courts. The hope is expressed that the cases may help to reveal the variety of situations containing essentially similar features of adjustment; the need of common standards and purposes in organizations engaged in a common undertaking; the present day insistence on personality

study; and the extent to which our social machinery needs to be readjusted to modern conditions of family and community life.

L. E. BOWMAN.

*The Community Committee.*

HOW FOSTER CHILDREN TURN OUT. A study by the State Charities Aid Association. Made under the direction of Sophie Van Senden Thies. Publication No. 165, State Charities Aid Association, New York.

Some twenty-five years ago, the New York State Charities Aid Association, a voluntary organization, decided that one of the ways it could most effectively aid state agencies was to find suitable family homes for children available for placement, and to look after such children as long as necessary. By January 1, 1922, a group of 910 of these children had passed the age of eighteen. In an effort to contribute toward the answer to some constantly recurring questions concerning foster children, a study of this group was begun at this time. The result is a unique and valuable answer to the questions: "How do adopted children turn out? How many of them live up to the standards of the families and communities in which they are placed?"

For social technicians the value of such a study depends on the method of collecting and interpreting the facts. Sixteen field workers were chosen, all of whom had had experience in social work. Tracing letters were used to reopen contacts. A new schedule form (pp. 172-180) included "the material contained in the original records as well as the material gathered by the study visitors," and was made up on the judgment of the whole staff after several weeks' trial use and in consultation with statistical experts (p. 171). A manual of directions was given each worker with in-



structions to follow it literally in order that the material recorded should be ready for tabulation. The number of subjects in the total study group was deemed sufficient to warrant a statistical test of the validity of comparisons based on the mathematical theory of probabilities (Appendix, Note 6, pp. 208-210).

One of the principal problems of the study was to answer the question (p. 19): "How many of the 910 children (now grown up) who were placed in foster homes, are capable of managing themselves and their affairs with ordinary prudence?" There was a complete absence of comparable data. It was found in the early stages of the study that there was no available significant information concerning children in institutions or children generally. Even with the question answered, it could not be used as a study of environment versus heredity, because many of the children had remained in their homes through their most impressionable years. The actual situation is vigorously stated in the Foreword: "We are recording the results of a real and visible struggle; but it is not simply between inheritance and environment; it is between inheritance plus early environment on the one hand and later environment, personal and community, on the other" (p. 5). In the absence of other established standards by which to test the community value of this group of children, it was therefore decided to accept the social worker's point of view as to self-support, law observance, and response to educational opportunity. On this basis, 615 subjects were classified as "capable," 182 as "incapable," with 113 of "unknown capability" (p. 23). Granting the validity of the judgments so frankly analyzed in Chapter III, here we have a triumph for the social worker.

Even the lay reader uninterested in the

tables will follow the arguments for adoption through from Chapter IV, "The Children Who Have Made Good," as far as the Appendix. Another high watermark is reached in Chapter XII, with the establishment of the fact that there are "important differences in the development of children placed under five and of the children placed over five—differences wholly in favor of the younger group. The best results were obtained with the child who was young enough at placement to absorb the tone and standard of his foster home, who remembered little of his earlier environment, and who became the foster family's own child. In their relationship to their foster families and and to the communities in which they grew up, the younger children are clearly more successful" (p. 118).

This study has much to commend it just because it is based on data gathered by social workers, doctors and public officials who had no hypothesis to support, but were primarily concerned with the placement of children. The frank recognition that it will need supplement and further analysis to throw light on underlying problems, many of them in the fields of biology, and psychology, places it in the category of permanently significant accomplishment.

IVA L. PETERS.

*Goucher College.*

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY OF VALUE. By George Binney Diblee. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925, 365 pp. \$4.00.

This book, by an Oxford scholar versed in practical business, turns out to be largely a metaphysical treatment of the place of psychology in economics, and a labored attempt to add content to economic terminology. The psychology assumed in predominantly introspective,

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extreme behaviorism being vetoed on the grounds that its experiments are too much confined to the elementary and abnormal, and that it does not accord proper recognition to the subtler "unconscious" elements in the formulation of individual and social scales of value. Apparently the basic philosophy is idealistic, assuming the entity of "the idea" and even the authenticity of the "soul."

There is nothing particularly new in the remonstrance against price economics. By confining itself to price, and ignoring "Value," it is alleged to have gained some immediate practical results at the expense of shirking basic difficulties of theory; viz., it has failed to furnish us with standards of desirability, and has not given either the business man or the reformer a basis for prediction or control. Further, however, than to elaborate his belief that such a basis must be psychological, Mr. Dibblee does not afford us much help in these respects.

Demand, that is "the body of Values," which he describes objectively and subjectively, with much multiplication and splitting of concepts, is the one governing force in the economic realm. Supply is not a force, but simply follows demand. This points to the importance of the problem of selling: the costs of exchanging good are greater than the costs of technical production; furnishing the material of exchange is perhaps the most important function of capital, and more rather than less capital should be devoted to the distribution of goods; finally, the operation of "monopoly price" is both more extensive and more complicated than generally supposed—more extensive because, if Mr. Dibblee is right, combination, not competition, predominates in selling; and more complicated because selling costs render difficult the prediction of the most profitable price.

Perhaps the chief criticism of the book is that it is too vague to be criticised with any assurance. This is rather disappointing in an Oxford man, and the blame can not all be laid on the essential difficulty of the subject matter. For example, after an elaborate classification of "Values" from the points of view of agent and of object, and an equally intricate description of the subjective "elements" and objective "conditions" entering into the formation of Values, Mr. Dibblee assembles his Psychological and Multiple Theory of Value in such phraseology as this: "This group of Values, if we may use a spatial metaphor, resembles, in its nature, a cloud of varying intensity which stretches out in a blunt point in the direction of the responsive cloud of Prices. The point is itself a small cloud, representing a number of Values by richer members of the group, the members who have the means to satisfy the more sanguine estimates of the sellers. Where one cloud meets and overlaps the other cloud, the corresponding cloud of sellers, we have Value-Prices." And so on. The obvious pun might well be pardoned.

The emphasis on the "moral" nature of economics is well taken: decisions concerning the desirability of goods have little connection with sheer physical necessity, but turn on the supposed relations of those goods to a life about which men have definite opinions, and which, guided by something eluding mere rationality, they wish to broaden. But the fact that he makes no attempt to formulate standards would seem to divest Mr. Dibblee of the one best excuse for deploring price economics, and to leave his discussion of distributive "justice" in the air. His failure to discuss standards evidently arises out of his belief that "Values" result primarily from "moral" consideration—convictions, beyond mere

consciousness or rationality, concerning the relationships between "goods" and the plane of life—and the further faith that such judgments are essentially correct. Just to the extent that this is true, however, confining economics to price becomes justifiable.

When he comes to distribution, Mr. Dibblee appears to have forgotten both psychology and the "moral" nature of economics. His discussion of imputation is based directly on neither. Why, for example, is 5 per cent necessary to attract the "marginal increment" of saving? Because the saver insists on it—a psychological proposition. "Ought" he to have it? The answer turns finally on what kinds of values a social order should try to multiply. Perhaps some of the total economic product "ought" to be transferred, say, from interest to wages. Not to mention some dubious reasoning within the limits of his own hypotheses, Mr. Dibblee's attempt to settle an eventually ethical problem by almost purely "practical" standards leaves his case against organized labor much at sea.

These adverse criticisms, it must be noted, are based on possible misinterpretation of a very involved style of writing. Certainly the book evidences much scholarship and solid thinking; the treatment of selling is especially interesting; and certain observations on social classes are rather better than Veblen himself.

B. W. KNIGHT.

*Dartmouth College.*

MAKING THE TARIFF IN THE UNITED STATES. By Thomas Walker Page. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1924, x, 281 pp. \$2.50.

This book is one of a series published by the Institute of Economics and designed to deal with matters of current economic interest. Economists have heretofore written books explaining and outlining

the principles underlying tariffs. But no one has written a critical and descriptive account of the mechanism by which tariff policies are reflected in tariff legislation. Dr. Page, as a former professor of economics and as the chairman of the Tariff Commission for a number of years, has had the kind of training and experience that fit him peculiarly to write a book on the making of the tariff.

The author states as his purpose "to show wherein the method of preparing and enacting tariff laws has been defective, to explain why the remedies hitherto attempted have been unsuccessful, and to point out a practicable means of reform" (p. 1). The method used to attain this end has been partly historical, partly critical, partly descriptive.

Under the heading of Tariff Making Without Policy Page describes the crude manner in which most tariff laws have been enacted. Congress, in the framing of such laws, has had little of expert advice and has had to rely, in the main, upon the testimony of interested parties. The Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, the membership and leadership of which depend upon party regularity and seniority, has not been qualified to frame tariff laws. And the members of Congress are no better prepared to pass upon the rates which will fulfil the promises expressed in the platforms of the political parties. As a result, most rates have been fixed by compromise and "log-rolling." Page attributes this condition not to any dishonesty and perfidy upon the part of Congressmen, but regards it as inevitable under the circumstances. The defects of tariff laws have arisen chiefly through ignorance. He urges a tariff commission as a necessary check to the selfish interests which advocate rates beneficial to themselves alone.

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President to secure the assistance, especially in enforcing the retaliatory provisions of the law, of experts. President Taft appointed for this purpose five Republicans and, later, two Democrats. But in 1912 the House omitted from the appropriation bill any provision for this board. In 1916 Congress authorized a bi-partisan commission. Page insists that it was never contemplated that this commission should determine policies, this determination being necessarily political and resting in the elected representatives of the people.

The Commission has not been so successful as was hoped at the time of its authorization. This lack of success of the Commission has been due principally to the after-war chaos and uncertainty. It has been impossible to determine costs and political considerations have caused a disregard of the findings of the Commission.

The author regards as unsound the proposal of the National Chamber of Commerce to the effect that rates be determined by an independent commission. "The power to determine rates carries also the power to determine policy." Congress should determine policies. Further, such a proposal is unconstitutional and it would have all the ill effects that arise from frequent changes and the attendant uncertainty.

Dr. Page rightly objects to the provision of the tariff law of 1922 whereby the President is authorized to adjust rates so as "to equalize costs of production at home and abroad." He regards this flexibility as impracticable because of the cost and the delay in getting the needed data. It is almost impossible in many cases to ascertain domestic costs and information as to foreign costs is even more elusive. Further, the uncertainty introduced by such changes is worse than is a bad, although sure, rate.

But, more important than the administrative difficulty of getting cost data, is the economic fallacy underlying this theory. In any industry there are different domestic costs and also varying costs for foreign producers. Whose cost, then, is to be used as the basis? If the cost of the low-cost domestic producer, one rate is suggested. If the cost of the low-cost foreign producer, then another rate follows. In short, such a criterion is highly elusive, as Page points out adequately. He might have gone further and shown that such a theory, if possible of realization, would tend to neutralize all the gain that comes from international trade and would tend to make each country a self-sufficient economic unit, even to the extent of making it possible and profitable to produce in the United States at otherwise prohibitive costs the natural products of tropical countries.

Congress, in framing tariff rates, according to Page, should consider the degree to which a protected industry is essential to the welfare of the country (p. 146). This, of course, involves the use of judgment and cannot, in any accurate sense, be regarded as scientific.

Perhaps the strongest part of the book is that in which the author makes a plea for an independent tariff commission. This commission should make studies and should outline the probable effects of given rates, if imposed. Congress should use this information in so framing the tariff laws as to carry out the mandate given by the voters at the polls.

The reviewer cannot subscribe to the criterion of "equality of competition to domestic and foreign producers" which Page regards as the basis upon which rates should be built up. His own criticism of the "equality of costs between domestic and foreign producers," so forcefully and conclusively stated, applies even more strongly to the goal of equality of

competition. This raises the questions: Equality between what producers, the low-cost or the high-cost? How ascertain equality of competition if it is impossible to get the costs upon which the possibility of competition ultimately rests? Page, it seems, has fallen into a logical error and has indulged in a process of thinking that is closely akin to circular reasoning in this respect.

The book, in spite of the defense of some policies which are certainly open to question, gives a wealth of information that should help the crystallization of public opinion in favor of a fairer and a more scientific approach to the tariff problem.

CLYDE OLIN FISHER.

*Wesleyan University.*

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE INHERITANCE TAX.

By Eugenio Rignano. (Translated and adapted by William J. Schultz, Ph.D.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924, 128 pp. \$2.00.

THE TAXATION OF UNEARNED INCOMES. By Harry Gunnison Brown. Columbia, Missouri: Lucas Brothers, 1925, 169 pp.

Most of us are in favor of reform. We part company only when the discussion turns on what is to be reformed and how it is to be accomplished. Here are two suggestive volumes written by professors, both of whom honestly desire to see social betterment. Their methods of achieving reform in society are dissimilar.

Professor Rignano is an evolutionary socialist, who naturally regards the Marxian doctrine of inevitableness as a hindrance to the progress of social reform. He rightfully considers that this doctrine has kept the Marxian socialists from talking and acting in concrete terms. The strongest argument that can be used against socialism and in favor of the *status quo* is individual initiative. Give a man the undisputed possession of a

barren rock and he will turn it into a garden," is a classical statement concerning the truth of which Rignano is well persuaded. This is his problem as he sees it: How can the social state be gradually achieved without destroying the individual's interest and whole hearted effort to produce as much of goods and services as possible? He believes that he has found the answer.

First, "Consider the levies which the nation makes upon inheritance no longer as *taxes*, but as *shares in the estate* of the decedent devolving upon the nation." Second, "An organization must be imposed upon these levies which will insure nationalism as rapidly as is deemed opportune without weakening the motive for saving but rather stimulating it even more than the unconditional right of bequest and inheritance does today." Third, Inheritance taxes are now being graduated according to two criteria, the size of the estate and the propinquity of the relationship of the heirs. But a third criterion is possible: "The number of transfers in the way of succession and donation which the different portions of the estate have undergone before coming into the possession of the decedent. . . . "Over the wealth which he had himself created or saved he would have complete or almost complete control; his rights would be more restricted over the wealth which he had inherited directly, and would grow proportionately less according as the original accumulation was more remote by reason of repeated transfers. . . . Once the estate of the decedent was thus quantitatively divided, the nation would not levy on the portion due to his labor and thrift any higher duties than it imposes today. On the portion which the decedent inherited directly from his father, the nation would make a much heavier levy, say 50 per cent. On the portion

which came from grandfather, father, the tax, possibly graduated according to classification, three divisions, capable of third generation.

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1st . . . . .  
Inherits from  
2nd . . . . .  
Inherits from  
3rd . . . . .  
Inherits from  
4th . . . . .  
Earnings accumulated over generations total thirds, or \$50,000

If the above operation of

which came to the decedent from his grandfather through the medium of his father, there would be laid a very heavy tax, possibly 100 per cent. Such a graduation of rates would obviate a classification of any estate into more than three divisions, as nothing would be capable of inheritance from beyond the third generation."

As the reviewer understands the plan, the following would be an illustration of how it would operate:

Smith, the 1st		
Starts with nothing		
In his lifetime accumulates... \$15,000		
Smith, the 2nd		
Inherits.....	15,000	
Acquires additional.....	20,000	\$50,000
Smith, the 3rd		
Inherits (50 per cent of \$15,000).....	7,500	7,500
Inherits.....	20,000	
Acquires additional.....	30,000	
Smith, the 4th		
Inherits from estate of Smith 1st.....	00,000	7,500
Inherits from estate of Smith 2nd.....	10,000	10,000
Inherits from estate of Smith 3rd.....	30,000	
Acquires additional.....	10,000	
Smith, the 5th		
Inherits from estate of Smith 1st.....	00,000	
Inherits from estate of Smith 2nd.....	00,000	10,000
Inherits from estate of Smith 3rd.....	15,000	15,000
Inherits from estate of Smith 4th.....	10,000	
Earnings acquired by individual effort in five generations total \$75,000. The state's share is two-thirds, or \$50,000.		

If the above is a fair illustration of the operation of Rignano's plan, the state

acquires the title to the means of production at a rapid rate. Rinaldo Rigola, the former secretary-general of the Italian *Confédération Général du Travail* believes that the plan operates too slowly. Rignano is willing to be reasonable about the rates. William J. Shultz, the translator, realizing that "In the present stage of political and fiscal development in the United States and England, the federal tax law outlined in the preceding chapter is hardly likely to gain legislative consideration" advocates that the rates of the federal inheritance tax act of June, 1924, be modified so that the increases in rates on large fortunes will fall on those estates which have changed hands more than once. If \$1,000,000 were inherited and one-half of it had been earned, the present rate in the United States of 12 per cent might be about 24 per cent.

Irrespective of low or high rates, is the plan just? Is it workable? There is no inherent injustice in the plan, after one has accepted the principle that the state is a partner in production and distribution. It is true, there might be some injustice as between individuals, if the rates were inequitable. But this could be avoided by an exemption and a graduated scale similar to the one now in force. It is obvious, as Professor Gini has indicated, that injustice would result from instability of the value of money. This is true, but inequality and injustice are already present because of the variation in the value of money.

Would it work? In Italy, the plan has been widely discussed in academic circles. Some of the objections are superficial. Others are more searching. Many objections which have been offered are aimed against socialism itself. Rignano has not undertaken in this book the task of defending socialism, but is rather offering to socialists a progressive method of



"taking over" the title to property. It is true, he does suggest the creation of a National Property Commission to care for the state's share of the inheritances, but this is done in a very tentative way—it is not his main thesis. In the reviewer's opinion the author is least convincing in his discussion of how the property inherited by the state is to be utilized. But this fact has long given trouble to socialists, and is one they are inclined to neglect in their discussions. Rignano's proposals should be judged by his effort to harness the "family sense" in man and furnish him with a greater incentive than ever for accumulation.

One reason for the increase in inheritance taxation throughout the world in recent decades has been the feeling that inheritances are unearned incomes. Perhaps no principle of modern taxation is more generally accepted by all those holding different opinions regarding the next step in social reform, than the liability of unearned incomes to be heavily taxed. Professor Brown in his book *The Taxation of Unearned Incomes* accepts this principle without extensive argument and advances to the discussion of the best method of taxing such incomes, to the end that economic democracy may be attained and perpetuated. He divides his treatment into three parts: First, earned and unearned incomes of different kinds; second, the rent of land and its taxation; and third, comments on current criticisms of single tax proposal. The book as a whole is thought-provoking and deserves to be read by all economists whether conservative or liberal. The analysis of different forms of income is particularly stimulating. The basis of the argument in favor of a single tax is that land is nature's free gift to man and can not be increased in quantity so that "the owners of land contribute no

service in return for their income." But interest payments are justified because "the public (except in certain cases, numerous enough no doubt, where the capital is wastefully or injuriously used) pays the owner for a service which, without his saving (or the saving of someone whose right to payment has been transferred to him) would not have been enjoyed."

Professor Brown believes that no social injustice results from the appropriation of the economic rent by the state, even though the present owners had saved from their earning in order to purchase the land. In his discussion of "vested rights" he maintains that tenants have been imposed upon by being compelled to pay for "sites which were neither produced nor rendered valuable by the owners," and greater injustice would result from the continuation of such a plan than from appropriation of the rents without adequate compensation. No man should receive tribute from those he has not served. The appropriation may be made a gradual process, so that landowners may be forewarned. This argument will not commend itself to many. There is a fundamental difference between the taking away of property rights under a system of organization which had encouraged them and the taking of rent from tenants who acquired the use of land knowing that rent must be paid.

The author does not consider inheritance as a satisfactory base for heavy tax levies. "It is, clearly, illogical, then, to abolish the inheritance of wealth without abolishing at the same time all the advantages of nurture and education that the children of thoughtful, thrifty and affectionate parents have over the children of other parents." He does not mean by this that inheritances should not be taxed, but that they should not

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be taxed in such a way that capital accumulation would be discouraged.

It is difficult for an innocent bystander to understand why only those economic policies which fit into the single tax system are the ones which are capable of defence. A book of this kind raises numerous questions of economic and social policy, and this is at least one reason why these two books should be read with most thoughtful attention.

W. E. WELD.

*Columbia University.*

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRITISH OVERSEAS EMPIRE. By L. C. A. Knowles. London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1924, xv, 555 pp. 10s. 6d.

It is almost incredible that this book brings for the first time into a comprehensive survey materials which make possible an understanding of one of the most important developments of modern times. Volume after volume has been devoted to the economic development of the German Empire, of the United States, of Great Britain herself. The empire of the latter has by no means been forgotten. But apart from its constitutional features, it has been approached mainly from the biased viewpoint of critics of imperialism or of its defenders. There has been much ado about the wrongs of oppressed peoples and the civilizing duty of the Anglo-Saxons. In attempting an analysis of what the economic system of the British Empire actually is, Mrs. Knowles is even more a pioneer than her master, Archdeacon Cunningham, with his *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*.

The volume under review is the first of two which propose to make initial analysis of this momentous phenomenon. In an introductory section of more than one hundred pages in length, Mrs. Knowles

discusses "The Empire as a Whole." This part is in reality a series of synthetic historical essays of unusual compression and penetration, which serve to justify in general her analysis of the stages of economic development and her classification of areas and policies of exploitation. The remainder of the volume is devoted to "The British Tropics." Under this heading Mrs. Knowles discusses generally such problems of the tropics as the effect of new cultures and new demands, native protection, land tenures, the rival modes of cultivation by planter or peasant and the migration of Indian and Chinese labor. There follows a detailed analysis of the economic history of British India from 1765 to the present day. These two hundred pages might well have been thinned out to make a separate book and a highly indispensable one, since the highly uncritical volumes of Romesh Dutt written thirty years ago are alone in English upon this ground. The breadth of Mrs. Knowles' approach may be indicated by her preliminary examination of elements of general influence upon India's economic life. Absence of national unity, geographical features, uncertainty of life and property, religion and mores associated therewith, and economic isolation receive her careful consideration. The volume concludes with brief consideration of the special significance of Malaya, Nigeria, Kenya and Uganda. In the succeeding book, the self-governing Dominions will be approached in the same manner, and there will be special sections devoted to the history of emigration and of preferential commercial relations.

One aspect of Dr. Knowles' treatment deserves mention as signalling the progress of economic history since the days of Cunningham. The organization of this volume is absolutely divorced from the sequence of imperial legislation. What is reported upon is not the law of economic

relations, but the life itself is recorded in the Blue-books, in the reports of participants, in the records of the customs-house and the census. One may approach the book with confidence that the benumbing influence of the Corn Laws upon England will not be chosen as the central trait of a period during which Great Britain was exporting an annual surplus of grain. Mrs. Knowles knows better now. It is said that she knows more about the Blue-books than any person alive. The reader arises from her paragraphs bristling with facts and correlations and her well-documented pages with the feeling that if this is not the case it well might be. So far as the Blue-books will carry her she goes in seeking the influences which make the British imperial economic system a living reality.

Moreover her volume is noteworthy in that, while betraying her enthusiasm for the imperial achievement, Dr. Knowles expressly deprecates the thought that its real diversity should be reduced to a common economic pattern and the suggestion that such is the present British policy. She perceives, and marshals materials to show, that "to know something about the Overseas Empire at the present day is to get some idea of the whole evolution of civilization."

What Mrs. Knowles conspicuously fails to do is to give to her materials persuasive literary expression. Her manner is vigorous, her sentences packed with ideas, her paragraphs crammed with correlations which challenge thought even if they leave frequent room for doubt. But her work as a whole is awkward and labored. Grammatical errors are frequent and she is fond of such words as "incivilization." Thus the good work of Americanizing the Old World proceeds.

LELAND HAMILTON JENKS.

*Amherst College.*

DER WIRTSCHAFTENDE MENSCH IN DER GESCHICHTE. Gessamelte Reden und Aufsätze. By Lujo Brentano. Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1923, xii, 498 pp. M. 10.

LA NOUVELLE ORIENTATION ECONOMIQUE. By Henri Hauser. Paris: Alcan, 1924, xiii and 200 pp.

In the passing generation of German historical economists Lujo Brentano has occupied an honorable place. From his seminar at Munich there poured from 1893 to 1920 continuous and closely related series of monographs, dealing historically with economic institutions. And Brentano has been a prominent factor in that trend of German scholarship which discarded the basic assumptions of classical economy. This collection of essays otherwise accessible only in scattered journals facilitates an appraisal of his precise position.

The starting point of Brentano's thought is a flat repudiation of the notion that economic life in all times and places revolves simply about the activity of individual men seeking the maximum of gain at the least possible effort. This dogma belies the facts of history. No general scheme of economics is possible; there are simply numerous special fields of economic activity, past and present. Economic science must consist in the intensive study of these. From their study, however, Brentano brings a notion of some constant relations, which become the working principles of his further historical analysis. And what he started with denying, he ends by affirming vehemently. For the economic egoism of the individual, Brentano in short substitutes the economic egoism of the group. The unifying basis of all economic principles becomes the "economic unit," the tribe, the gild, the nation, the individual man. From their entrance into history there have been such economic unities dominated by the striving after greater

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wealth. Hence have come war, and trade "the younger brother of war." For the essence of trade is the unfriendly purpose of obtaining something of greater value for something of less. This motivation of all economic history lies in the "nature" of man, which Brentano's psychology does not enable him to pursue more closely than can be done by showing the historical failure of anti-egoistic Christian ethical codes to constrain economic life.

These positions bring Brentano into conflict with the now dominant interpreters of the great problem of economic history, the origins of modern capitalism. Against Sombart, he contends that capitalism grew directly out of trade, not out of ground rents, or exploit, or the outlawry of the Jews. Against Max Weber, he argues that the spirit of Puritanism had nothing to do with its development, but that the ethics of capitalism are to be traced back through the revival of Roman law to the teachings of the Stoics, who felt that it was more virtuous to be well-to-do than to be poor. Of special interest is the essay upon "The Church and the Development of Freedom," which demonstrates conclusively that the Christian Church had nothing to do with the decline of slavery, either in ancient times or modern.

The essays of Henri Hauser form the greatest possible contrast to those of Brentano. They are popular articles upon the post-war economic position of France by a man who has some standing his country as an economic historian. M. Hauser does not, however, reveal a profound grasp of the situation. He views his data from afar, and disdains statistical method. The book is significant chiefly as illustrating the intellectual conquests made by Germany in the war. M. Hauser's program contains no-

thing that would have startled Bismarck. It calls for a new economic organization of France, internally and externally, along lines which may correctly be labelled "neo-mercantilistic." It is indicated that a reorganization of the bureaucracy which France has inherited from the first Napoleon is an indispensable prerequisite. From this point of view the surface facts are skilfully surveyed. There is a Gallic touch when Hauser urges that "the French state be industrialized that it may continue to live." Such phrases recall Saint-Simon. There is nothing here to indicate that Hauser understands any better or as well as the disciples of that underrated visionary what industrializing a state must really mean.

LELAND HAMILTON JENKS.

*Amherst College.*

THE LAW OF DIMINISHING RETURNS. PART ONE. THE LAW OF DIMINISHING INCREMENTS. By W. J. Spillman. PART TWO, THE LAW OF THE SOIL. By Emil Lang. Yonkers-on-Hudson and Chicago: World Book Company, 1924, xi, 178 pp. \$2.00.

These two articles, bound in one volume, do not deal with economics as the title *The Law of Diminishing Returns* might suggest, but with physiological phenomena, such as the affect upon soil productivity of the increasing application of fertilizer and of water, or the effect upon the weight of hogs, steers, capons, and of children of increasing quantities of food. As W. J. Spillman, one of the authors puts it: "Successive equal increments . . . tend to constitute the terms of "a decreasing geometric series." Numerous tables based upon experiments and mathematical formulae and graphs seem to prove this contention.

All this is no doubt very important for the student of agronomy, animal husbandry, and irrigation engineering. As far as I am able to judge, in a matter

in which I am not competent, this is a valuable contribution to the knowledge in these fields.

But the book adds nothing to economic theory, although the authors seem to think that the physiological phenomena which they have investigated, are of the same order or even special cases of the so-called law of diminishing returns in economics, as if economic facts, as well as physiological facts, were expressions of the same overruling cosmic law. Thus Emil Lang says that "his aim was to 'clothe in mathematical form this law, that like so many others in political 'economy is based on fundamental natural law' (p. 103). Similar expressions referring to economics occur in other parts of the book.

In economics the term diminishing returns is used in several senses, corresponding to the general confusion that prevails in economic terminology. In general it stands for the idea that if one factor of a group of factors of production (working together) is enlarged relatively to the other factors beyond a certain point, each additional increment will bring smaller and smaller returns. This is merely another way of stating the quite obvious fact that there is a best possible combination in which these factors may be proportioned to each other so that each of them may function most efficiently. Any other combination results in diminished returns. This idea is better conveyed by the expression "Law of the Proportion of Factors."

The classical economists used to think of diminishing returns, or of proportion of factors, in terms of quantities. Such conditions would be possible only in an idea communistic society where every piece of work would have to be planned by somebody in authority. Of course, it would be impossible to allocate quanti-

ties of labor properly, because there is no objective way of measuring quantities of labor. Even if one disregards this obstacle, there would be still the problem of computing the amount of labor to be used with not merely "capital" and "land" as the classical economists assumed, but with hundreds of different kinds of natural resources and of man-made things. In addition there would be the problem of opportunity cost, that is, whether it would be best to make this or that product and how much of each. But these would be merely the difficulties in a *static* communistic society. If one takes into consideration *dynamic* conditions, the problem would become vastly more complex.

However, in theory one might be willing to concede that if the so-called "Law of Diminishing Returns" were based upon proportions of quantities of factors, it might be considered a sort of general principle of which the "Law of Diminishing Increments" and the "Law of the Soil," as discussed in the book under review, are special cases.

But in modern competitive society the factors of production are not evaluated and combined according to quantitative measurements, but according to prices and prospective money returns. Some of these factors are not tangible at all; for instance "good will," or "royalties," etc., which are nevertheless highly productive in money returns. All this has been discussed definitely and exhaustively in *The Economics of Enterprise* by H. J. Davenport, particularly in Chapter XXIII.

As has been said, the authors do not really deal with questions of economics. Excepting for occasional allusions, there is only a short division of the book (pp. 164-175) which touches upon economic problems. The discussion there turns about the so-called "Gossenian

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Law" to the effect that "the magnitude of one and the same enjoyment decreases continuously if we continue uninterruptedly the indulgence of that enjoyment till finally satiety ensues." This, the author thinks, is a law similar to his "Law of the Soil." But enjoyment cannot be measured objectively like soil productivity, but is an individual and subjective thing. Even in individuals no such falling curves of enjoyment as Gossen assumes are measurable excepting, perhaps, for the enjoyment of the most primitive necessities such as air, water, and food. Economists have long ago abandoned the Gossenian theory along with other hedonistic faiths.

HERMANN HILMER.

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Southern Branch, Los  
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INDUSTRIAL OWNERSHIP. ITS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE. By Robert Brookings. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925, x, pp. 105. \$1.25.

The tremendous development of industrial technology during the past half century has led to a corresponding growth of the corporation so that it has become the characteristic business unit of modern large scale industry. The single owner or the partner, actively engaged in managing the enterprise owned, is being supplanted more and more by large groups of stockholding owners who have no part in the management, while the actual managers of the enterprise are salaried officials who are not necessarily stockholders, at any rate, not large stockholders.

This separation of ownership from management has led to new relationships between "capital" (investors), "management" (officials) and "labor" (wage-earners). This is the general thesis of Brookings' book.

According to the author the diffusion of ownership of "capital" is preceding at an accelerating rate. (The term "capital" is vague, but from the general tone of the book it is apparent that it stands here for the concept of the industrial business corporation.) A list of the investors in the preferred stock of three subdivisions of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, in the appendix of the book, illustrates the extent of the diffusion of ownership in this case.

The legal owners of the business, the author goes on to say, cease to exercise their right to select the actual managers, and "those people who know the things that must be known and are ready to do the things that must be done, are the ones who manage every organization, and to a surprising extent they elect themselves." The author does not say by what means they elect themselves. But that may be inferred from a passage further on in the book, to the effect that the actual control, including the choice of those responsible for routine management, is exercised by the relatively small group—officers, creditors or active stockholders—who are interested enough and have ability enough to exercise that control.

Managers come to regard themselves more and more as representative of all the coöperative parties involved in the enterprise, and not merely of the stockholders. To quote: "Management is thus coming to occupy the position of trustee, and to maintain its position it must serve the public with the greatest efficiency consistent with a fair return to capital necessary to keep it in industry."

In a chapter entitled "The changed Relation of Labor to Industry" the author suggests rather than states definitely how the changed attitude of management effects this important aspect of our economic organization. To quote: "Just in



proportion as we develop a standard under which managers are the genuine representatives of the interests of their employees as well as of the stockholders, the function of the trade union ceases to be one of warfare and comes to be one of coöperation."

Another chapter under the caption "The Changed Relation of Government to Industry" advocates that the anti-trust laws should be revised so as to permit more extensive coöperation. The aim should be "to penalize the *abuse* of power instead of the *possession* of power." As a means of controlling the abuse of power the author suggests "a provision for uniformity and publicity of corporation accounts."

Discussing the "Compensation of Capital," the author asserts that it is "only in the exceptional case that the industrial corporations are making profits which exceed the ordinary rate of interest by an amount proportionate to the difference in risk," and he tries to show this by extensive tables in the appendix of the book. Whatever the truth may be, these tables do not prove the assertion. The tables give the capitalization (stock and bonds), the surplus, the net earnings including the interest on the funded debt, and the percentage of net earnings to capitalization from 1919 to 1923 of a number of important corporations in the United States. These percentages for 1920 amounted to 8.9 in the average. But the capitalization is no indication of what has actually been invested. In the case of the bonds, to be sure, the outstanding amount does approximately indicate what has actually been paid for them. But that is not so in the case of stocks. A share of stock may have cost only a fraction of its face value or even nothing at all. Moreover, the stock of a corporation may be and often is continually increased through stock dividends, so that the

percentage of yield is lowered while the actual returns of the original investment are increased.

The author realizes this and "has disregarded the surplus as an offset to the 'water' included in the capital stock valuation" of some of the corporations in his tables. But that does not help his argument. For the surplus of an industrial corporation is not actually paid in by investors, excepting, possibly in a few very rare cases. It is simply an indication that the corporation has not distributed in dividends all that it has earned. As a matter of fact, some corporations have earned so much that they have not merely squeezed the water out of the originally much diluted stock, and have distributed more stock in the shape of stock dividends, but in addition have accumulated large surpluses. If such a surplus keeps on growing the corporation may either increase the percentage of the dividends or else distribute stock dividends in which case the surplus or part of it will disappear.

However, the author does not have to argue about corporate incomes in order to sustain his general thesis. As he points out himself in the case of Henry Ford, the receivers of very large incomes could not as a rule do anything else with most of it but reinvest it in socially productive enterprises, which increase the per capita income and thus benefit all of us including the wage worker.

HERMANN HILMER.

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INDUSTRIAL LIFE IN SOVIET RUSSIA, 1917-1923. International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, Series B (Economic Conditions) No. 14. Geneva, 1924. 260 pp.

This work is a compendium of information on governmental organization, wage policy, collective agreements, settlement

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of disputes, regulation of the labor market, social insurance, labor inspection, and trade union procedure. The title is somewhat misleading, as the subject matter has to do with the framework of industrial life rather than with the life itself. Unlike many of the works inspired by the new order of things in Russia, the present production is of no interest whatever to the general reader; but it is a highly valuable reference work full of painstaking detail and buttressed by elaborate documentation, as well as by statistical appendices from Soviet sources.

A careful reading of the book will provide an impressive picture of the multiplicity of changing problems that attended the attempt of the Russian Communists to arrive at a workable economic order. The account makes very clear how absolutely governmental policies are subject to the limitations imposed by the state of the economic system. Again and again in varying detail official policies had to be modified or disregarded on account of the disintegration of production occasioned by the war and the subsequent struggles of the revolution.

Of outstanding interest is the picture given of the relation of the trade unions to the state. From being virtually organs of the government for the operation of industrial undertakings, they have come to represent pretty much "the interests of the workers as against the management of undertakings and the Government. . . . " The membership of the unions was at its peak in 1921, when it totalled eight and a half million, nearly all accumulated after the revolution. The abandonment of the state policy of automatic unionization of all workers led to a great shrinkage of membership.

The report concludes with a generalization that heads up well the main tenor of the study: "In every department of

working class life the new economic and social conditions introduced in Russia two years ago have exerted a far reaching influence. Conditions of work in Russia are at present governed less by the legislation of the executive authorities, in spite of the considerable change in the principles of such legislation, than by economic and social conditions, and in particular by the growth of private capitalism side by side with state capitalism. These new conditions now have a preponderating influence on the fixing of wages, the conditions of engagement and the situation of the labor market in general, the working of social insurance, relations between employers and workers, and finally, the general direction of the working class movement."

To all appearances the authors of the report have done a substantial piece of work on a sufficiently impartial basis.

ARTHUR W. CALHOUN.

*Brookwood College.*

THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS, 1880-1923.

By LEO WOLMAN. New York: The National Bureau of Economic Research, 1925, 170 pp. \$1.50.

This illuminating study amplifies and brings down to date investigations into trade-union membership which had been made previously by the author and by Prof. George E. Barnett. The number of trade unionists in 1923 is estimated at 3,780,000, or 1,230,000 less than in 1920. This was, however, a gain of three and a third millions as compared with the membership in 1897, and of 1,600,000 over 1910. The major portion of these increases have been concentrated in the coal mines, the railway service, the building trades and the clothing industry. Thus the membership of the United Mine Workers grew from less than 30,000 in

1897 to over 400,000 in 1923, at the same time that the building unions were increasing from less than 100,000 to over 800,000, the railway unions from approximately 100,000 to 700,000 and the number of unionists in the clothing industry from virtually nothing to over 300,000.

In 1910, if we exclude agriculture from our consideration, approximately 11 per cent of the wage-earners were unionized. This by 1920 had risen to 21 per cent. Although Dr. Wolman does not give later figures, it is probable that the percentage has at the present time fallen to somewhere around sixteen. It follows, therefore, that four-fifths of the American wage-earners were outside the union ranks in 1920, as are probably five-sixths today.

The proportion in the various industries who do belong to unions is even more striking. In 1920, clothing, which ten years before was almost completely non-union, had 58 per cent of its employees in the International Ladies' Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Fifty-eight per cent of the railway workers were also in one of the sixteen labor organizations in that industry. Fifty-one per cent of the coal miners belonged to the United Mine Workers which is of course the most powerful industrial union in the country. On the other hand, less than 1 per cent of the chemical workers were unionized, and only 8 per cent of those in the paper and pulp industry, 13 per cent of those in the metal trades, 15 per cent of the textile workers and 18 per cent in the lumber industry. While these percentages were generally gains over the relative proportions prevailing in 1910, they indicated great weaknesses in many lines of industry which have been still further accentuated since 1920. Thus today the metal trades unions have been dislodged from virtually all branches of foundry and machine-shop

work save the stove-founding industry. Similarly in the textile industry, due to unemployment plus the decadence of the New England textile industry and the rapid growth of the mills in the South, the United Textile Workers have lost an enormous amount of ground since 1920. In the meat packing industry, the Amalgamated Association of Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, which under the stimulus of the organizing campaign of W. Z. Foster rose to power from 1917 to 1920 has now become merely a shell. The lumber industry, in both the woods and the mills is now virtually unorganized, unless one includes the somewhat anomalous Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen; and the Shingle-Weavers Union has indeed surrendered its charter and given up the struggle.

The unions that Dr. Wolman studied were "either unwilling or unable to submit a detailed geographical distribution of their membership" so that definite statistics on this point are lacking. It is known, however, that the percentage of organization is, on the whole, higher in the larger than in the smaller cities and that it is relatively greater in the Northeast and on the Pacific Coast than in the South. Among the larger cities, Philadelphia is probably the lowest in the percentage of organization. It is also the city where labor politics have probably been even more corrupt than those of the building trades of New York, Chicago and San Francisco.

The final chapter on "Women in Trade Unions" is a much needed study. Dr. Wolman estimates that the number of women unionists in 1920 was approximately 397,000 or five times the number organized in 1910. Nearly half of this number were in the clothing industry, while 35,000 more were in the two rival textile unions, and 36,000 in the three

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warring boot and shoe unions. The predominant majority of these women unionists are undoubtedly found in the North-eastern States while few are in the skilled craft unions.

Dr. Wolman confines himself to presenting the facts and does not attempt to draw conclusions from them. To the reviewer, this study indicates that the craft union type of organization has probably reached its maximum usefulness and that if American unionism is to progress it must organize itself primarily upon the industrial basis. Only thus will it be able to launch a united attack upon such trustified industries as chemicals, rubber, and iron and steel, or be able to penetrate where there are such strong employers' associations as in the textile industry and the metal trades. From the standpoint of sound tactics, labor needs a united front to combat the increasingly united front of the employers. Industrial unionism moreover would eliminate the needless duplication of organizing costs which the presence of several unions in the same industry necessarily entails. By pooling expenses, organizers could be sent to localities which are now necessarily left unorganized by the various unions because there are relatively so few of their craft in that vicinity.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS.

*The University of Chicago  
and Amherst College.*

LABOR ATTITUDES AND PROBLEMS. By Willard E. Atkins and Harold D. Lasswell. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1924, 520 pp. \$3.50.

This newest of texts in the field of labor problems is a welcome innovation. Unlike the writers of so many of our elementary text-books, the authors have not contented themselves with merely summarizing in peptonized form the salient facts with which they deal; they have

gone farther and have attempted to explain why various groups of workers think and feel as they do. Their study is essentially one in the social attitudes of labor and with John Fitch's *Causes of Industrial Unrest*, is a worthy continuation of the method of approach which Robert Hoxie so well began in both his *Scientific Management and Labor* and *Trade Unionism in the United States*.

The whole discussion is given especial vividness by the chapters which deal with the types of work performed by the coal miners, steel workers, clothing operatives, agricultural and casual laborers, and unskilled women workers, comprising approximately a third of the book. Even the person with little or no industrial experience cannot but secure a more sympathetic appreciation of just what these workmen experience in their working and leisure hours. The chapters on the coal mines and steel workers are especially well done.

The following section is devoted to an interesting discussion of the effect of machinery upon the workers, the market in which labor sells its services, and the four great risks which labor experiences, namely those of accidents, illness, destitute old age, and unemployment. Here the treatment while sound, is not particularly searching and a fuller discussion of such measures as the British unemployment insurance system would give a greater solidity to the material.

The discussion of the standards of living of the workers is admirable and gives a dynamic view which recent budgetary studies, with their emphasis upon necessarily static standards as bases for wage payment, having somewhat neglected. The case study of the E family (pp. 271-79) is one that deserves to be read by all social workers and students of labor. It allows us to see the real hopes

and aspirations of the family and how they diverge both from the "scientific" budget which a skilled expert had drawn up and from the actual enjoyments which the family itself was able to secure. The authors err, however, in perpetuating the common idea that American budgetary studies have "substantially verified" Engel's Law. It is, of course, true that the percentage spent upon food decreases and that upon miscellaneous items increases with an increase in income. But the conclusion, based upon German figures, that the percentages spent upon clothing tend to remain constant whatever the income does not seem to apply in the United States. The 1901 investigation by the United States Bureau of Labor and the 1918-19 investigation by the Bureau of Labor Statistics indicate, on the contrary, that the *relative* amount spent upon clothing increases as the income increases.

Labor's attempts to better its condition through collective action in the form of trade-unionism, consumers' coöperation, political action, and proposals for economic reform are suggestively, albeit somewhat briefly treated. The most illuminating passage is that which analyzes the principal reasons why some men join unions and why some do not. This exposition of real motives should serve as a healthy corrective to the excessive economic rationalizing which many economists have indulged in when they have treated union members as motivated almost entirely by their belief in their organization as a superior bargaining agency. Just as multitudes join the churches because of other motives than the basically religious, so are there a complexity of desires at work within the breast of the worker, some of which serve to induce him to join a union and others to repel him from doing so.

As the authors state in their preface,

the work is primarily designed for students in Junior Colleges, and it should find a wide acceptance in this field as well as among men and women who wish to secure a birdseye view of labor problems.

For more advanced students, however, it is likely to prove somewhat too elementary to be used as the main staff, although a great deal of the material, particularly those parts which have been singled out for comment, is superior to that of many more pretentious treatises.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS.

*University of Chicago, and  
Amherst College.*

THE AMERICAN COLONIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Herbert L. Osgood. New York: Columbia University Press, 1924. Vol. I, xxvii, 552 pp., Vol. II, xxiv, 554 pp., Vol. III, xxviii, 580 pp. \$15.00.

The posthumous appearance of so noteworthy a contribution to historical literature as Professor Osgood's *American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* presents a temptation to neglect an analysis of the work itself for a review of the life of the author. It is one of the outstanding careers in American scholarship. In 1907 was issued the last of the three volumes in which Professor Osgood traced the establishment of the colonies in the seventeenth century. From that time until his death in 1918 he devoted his attention to the almost unknown region lying between the stirring events of 1688-1690 and the preliminaries of the Revolution. of the four volumes which will embody his conclusions three have now appeared.

"The point of view which I have chosen," writes the author, "is the politico-economic, with the emphasis on the first part of the compound." This method of treatment determines the content.

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That anything surprisingly new would be discovered was hardly to be expected. But now for the first time students have judicial accounts of many of the partisan struggles that agitated provincial politics; piracy is taken from the realm of romance and related to the maritime and commercial system of the century; the political implications of the government's attempts to further the production of naval stores are succinctly summarized; the minor New England colonies are rescued from the obscurity into which they have been relegated by the prominence of Massachusetts; and finally out of the administrative experiences in the colonies stretching from New Hampshire to Georgia and varying in type of government there gradually emerges one system which takes its place in the larger system of the British Empire.

This desirable result could be obtained only by the method adopted: the exact examination of the course of administration in each of the colonies and generalization upon the evidence secured. But might not much of the scaffolding have been renewed and the pages used to better advantage? Is there any more reason for knowing the petty politics of Massachusetts in 1740 than of Arkansas in 1840? Even the colonial expert will wisely forget two-thirds of what he reads. Some cases are described in detail merely because they occupy a large place in the contemporary documents. Thus in a chapter pressed for room the pointless tale of Mary Matthews and the Bosomworths, which has no reason for being repeated, might well have been omitted. On the other hand, social life is entirely neglected. One of the most excellent chapters deals with the Great Awakening but the list of results is confined to a barren discussion of the number of converts and a brief statement that education and

missionary enterprise were stimulated. How this agitation provoked discussion and broke up the stratification of society thereby bringing a new ferment into life which shortly thereafter was working furiously in politics and threatening to change most of the colonial constitutions is entirely ignored.

These omissions are the more deplorable as many of the aspects which made the earlier volumes so valuable are now dropped. There is no discussion of the land system and the excuse for this omission that what changes did occur were "only in minor detail" is not satisfactory when one realizes how influential those minor changes in administration were in fostering the spirit of radicalism. The inadequacy of the system of frontier defense and the disgust of the imperial government over the inter-colonial wrangling on the subject are barely hinted at. Finance and taxation always played their part in the politics of each colony but the significance of the paper money episodes, narrated in great detail, is left to conjecture. There is a frontier depicted but it is a drab frontier of paper regulations, of wooden soldier and of fur-traders' ledgers. In brief, the three volumes are unfortunately too much the description of a great machine of government, standing cold and dead, and almost meaningless because detached from the vigorous life which it served.

The editing of the manuscript has been admirably done by Prof. Dixon Ryan Fox and his excellent analytical table of contents lightens the reader's task.

MARCUS L. HANSEN.

*Smith College.*

ANCIENT HUNTERS. By W. J. Sollas. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924, pp. xxxv, 689. \$6.50.



THE EVOLUTION OF MAN. By G. Elliot Smith. New York: Oxford University Press, 1924, pp. vi, 159.

MAN BEFORE HISTORY. By Mary E. Boyle. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1924, pp. xxi, 135. \$1.50.

TANTALUS OR THE FUTURE OF MAN. By F. C. S. Schiller. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1924, pp. vi, 66. \$1.00.

On the publication of the first edition in 1911 Sollas's *Ancient Hunters* at once took place as one of the few indispensable works on prehistoric man. That edition was exhausted within a few months. In it the author had had the assistance of Cartailhac, Breuil and Boule in France, Reutot in Belgium, Schmidt in Germany, and various fellow country men. A second edition appeared in 1915, and now comes the third edition, thoroughly revised. In spite of the war the literature dealing with Paleolithic and Neolithic ages grew apace. During the period since 1910 were published such notable works as those by Burkitt, Macalister, Osborn, Keith, Boule, Obermaier and the Quennells, besides a multitude of monographic studies. In consequence the chapter on "The Antiquity of Man" has been entirely rewritten; the special chapter on "The Eskimo" has profited greatly by the intimate knowledge of Stefansson, and numerous other changes incorporate late bits of knowledge. The fundamental thesis of the work remains unchanged. The thesis is as follows: the Mousterians have vanished altogether and are now represented only by their industry at the Antipodes; the Aurignacians are represented in part by the Bushmen; the Magdalenians are represented in part by the Eskimos. Although such a thesis is obviously not absolutely demonstrable, the value of the book depends little thereon. It is a vast compendium of scholarly information and henceforth an

indispensable aid to all students of early man.

The construction of man's pedigree has become one of the favorite indoor sports of those who pretend to an intimate knowledge of man's origin. Dr. G. Elliot Smith brings to the solution of this riddle wide scholarship, an ingenious mind and a lively imagination. It is an unbeatable combination for the formulation of scientific postulates. He appears much impressed with the two Nebraska teeth which led Henry Fairfield Osborn to posit the existence in late Miocene time of an ape-man to which he gave the name *Homo Hesperopithecus*. It is interesting here to note that certain European paleontologists after examining the drawings of these same teeth pronounced their original owner a Pliocene bear. Nevertheless Elliot Smith finds a place for *Hesperopithecus* in the human family tree, placing it below *Pithecanthropus*. He then finds four distinct varieties of fossil man—Eoanthropus, Heidelberg Man, Rhodesian Man and Neanderthal Man, in ascending order. There follows in the series the varieties of *Homo Sapiens*, which in the ascending order of their characterization are given as follows: Australian, Negro, Mongol, Alpine, Mediterranean, Nordic. The author admits that this supremacy of the Nordic is here based solely on his extreme depigmentation; he says nothing about his superiority intellectually or physically from the biological point of view.

There follows a rather extended essay on primitive man and a shorter one on the human brain, in which are contained many observations and more numerous speculations regarding the course and stages of human evolution. One notes particularly the effort to apply certain principles of brain development to the

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problem of human evolution. It is on the whole a work of interesting speculation, but the reader must exercise extreme caution in order to keep facts distinguished from hypotheses.

Miss Boyle has written "a short account of prehistoric times" with an introduction by the Abbé Henri Breuil. It is illustrated with pertinent photographs and drawings, written in a simple but interesting style, and intended apparently for young readers. There will be few American sociologists, however, who will not find the book highly useful as a simple introduction to the story of man during the glacial periods.

The Tantalus is another of the little volumes in the To-day and Tomorrow Series. Like the others it is written in a vein which combines imagination as to the future with a consideration of present fact and tendency, all told in a sprightly style. For sociological readers it is undoubtedly the best of the entire series thus far published, and should find a place not only in libraries but on college reference shelves and professional study tables. It seems to have been written for the multitude of easy optimists now teaching sociology in the States who are so natural a product of American social history. If any of them fails to spend the brief hour that is necessary to read this little book he will miss many choice bits of wisdom which a regeneration of his soul sorely needs.

F. H. HANKINS.

*Smith College.*

**WOMAN'S SHARE IN SOCIAL CULTURE.** By Anna Garlin Spencer. Second edition, Enlarged. Philadelphia: Lippincott's Family Life Series, 1925, 413 p. \$3.50.

Mrs. Spencer's revised edition of *Woman's Share in Social Culture* is probably one of the most scholarly books written

about women. With apparently great zest and industriousness she has catalogued and classified an amazing variety of references to the work and position of women. Her somewhat sentimental approach will appeal to some and repel others but no one can fail to discover many interesting tid-bits of information contained within the eleven chapters. The chapter headings indicate the nature of the book: the primitive working-woman, the ancient and the modern lady, the drama of the woman of genius, the day of the spinster, pathology of woman's work, the vocational divide, the school and the feminine ideal, the social use of the post-graduate mother, problems of marriage and divorce, woman and the state, where two walk and work together.

Her chapter on "The Day of the Spinster" is particularly interesting. We read that in Plymouth the law declared that "Whereas great Inconvenience hath arisen by single persons in this Colonie being for themselves and not betaking themselves to live in well-governed families, no single person shall be suffered hereafter to live by himself but such as the selectmen permit" (p. 94) and that in Massachusetts a statute placed under suspicion all "single persons who take journeys merely for pleasure." From such a state of handicap, when old maids in Boston were spoken of as a curse, to the present day of the flaunting economic independence of the unmarried woman seems indeed a far cry. The author is not sure that the present situation is to survive, but she feels that we "may well look upon the day of the spinster as but a bridge of feminine achievement." She revives that old bug-a-boo that the brightest women will be drained off from motherhood to the ensuing detriment of the race. The narrow exponents of eugenics are often inclined to this blunder of consider-

ing individual abilities or disabilities certain to be reproduced in the offspring. With hereditary lines so mixed as today, with so many possibilities carried in the germplasm of all individuals there is little need to fret because the apparently brighter women incline toward "careers." These women may easily, for all their social value, produce less desirable offspring than the more stolid, unambitious women who are content with their membership in what Mrs. Spencer terms the "mother-sex." It is also possible that if all women are driven into activities concerned with self-support only those women of greatest ability and energy will find time to bear children.

In considering the pathology of woman's work some of the author's best thinking is manifest. Referring to the fact that the young girl works for a few years only, retiring from the occupational world generally upon marriage, she writes: "her brief incursion into this outside world of organized labor is not only short, not only made at a time of life when she is least able to take educational advantage of it without educational guidance, but it is so unrelated in obvious detail to the marriage she wants, and the re-absorption in home life she seeks, that all concerned fail to see its relation to her character development. . . . We are developed by our daily task, or else demoralized by it, as by nothing else. . . . Hence, the fact that one-third of one-half the race, and that the mother-half that perforce stamps its quality most irrevocably upon offspring, spends from 3 to 10 years in work entered upon without plan, pursued as a mere and often disliked incident on the way from the father's to the husband's home, and therefore accepted with all its evil concomitants of poor wages and bad conditions as *something not to be bettered but to be escaped from*

*as soon as possible, constitutes a social evil of the first magnitude"* (121).

Mrs. Spencer declares that it must become natural and accepted for any woman, whether married or single, to earn money if she wants to and can. She makes an excellent point in her discussion of the social use of post-graduate mothers, saying that of all social wastes that of the later years of woman's life is the greatest and that after the child-bearing period is past women attain a second youth and should attain a second and larger usefulness. She advocates the development of part-time employment for the married woman.

So gentle and so balanced a discussion of the work of woman and the peculiar problems presented by her double contribution to society deserves a thoughtful reading. The reviewer fails to share the author's enthusiastic conception of the tremendous social values inherent in women as a sex, rather than as a collection of varying individuals, but then reviewers are expected to be cynical anyway.

LORINE PRUETTE.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SOUTHWESTERN ARCHAEOLOGY. With a Preliminary Account of the Excavations at Pecos. By Alfred Vincent Kidder. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924, 151 pp. \$4.00.

This brief, but compact and well illustrated volume, is the first adequate summary of aboriginal history in Southwestern United States. For several years its author has been recognized as the leading authority in this field, since in addition to intensive specialization in the archaeology of one locality, he has given much time to the patient synthetic study of all parts of that somewhat arid, but most picturesque, section of our country. This volume is the first report on a series of

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intensive studies made at a pueblo site, now designated as Pecos, inhabited many years before the coming of the first white men and continuing well into the nineteenth century.

The author presents a historical sketch of this Pueblo village based upon the first accounts of the explorers and a brief review of its subsequent history until its complete abandonment about 1838. This historical sketch is followed by a seasonal account of the excavations on the site, from 1915 to 1917 and again from 1920 to 1922. This diggin was not merely a search for relics, but was in truth a dissection of the site, care being taken to employ the stratigraphic method at every turn in order that the changes in customs, arts, and population of the village may be placed in proper sequence and the whole seen as a growth, or as the evolution of a community.

As is usually the case in true research, the author found his task grew with the seasons, a vista of problems opening out before him, and every student of community life will find stimulation in the author's formulation of the problems this excursion into social palaeontology reveals.

The bulk of the volume, however, is given to a synthetic discussion of the archaeological evidence for the evolution of the whole Southwest. The basic assumption of the author is, that by classifying the artifacts, noting their geographical distributions, and considering what stratigraphic evidence there is, one may empirically reconstruct the history of man in the area. Of prehistoric cultures he distinguishes nine districts in which original developments, however minute, are in evidence. The richest in archaeological remains, and the one considered by the author as most significant, is named the San Juan, because it lies

within the valley of a river of that name, in all some 30,000 square miles. At any rate, here is where one finds the great ruins of the country, as Bonito, Aztec, and the famous cliff houses of Mesa Verde, etc. It is clearly shown that all the successive culture periods known to the Southwest are represented in the San Juan area, and the author maintains that here is to be found the original center in which they evolved. Most persons familiar with the data will agree with him. However, his major conclusion is that the growth at this center has been continuous and indigenous. He does not deny evidence of some contact with other areas, but points to the specific facts as in themselves proving that these intrusions were consequential rather than fundamental. But having proven the continuous occupation of the area from a nomad level to the builders of great stone pueblos, he is faced with the problem of depopulation, for some time before the coming of the Spaniards, the whole San Juan area was deserted and left to the wandering Navajo and his kind. The data of this abandonment the author places at 800 to 1100 A.D. As to cause, he rejects the climatic change theory and turns to the hostility of nomadic peoples. The author's reasoning in support of this hypothesis is ingenious, but not wholly convincing; his empirical position is, however, sound; for step by step, in terms of distribution and stratigraphy, he shows a shrinking of the Pueblo population area from the earliest period to the present. For at least a thousand years, and quite likely as long again, the population had been drawing in toward the center, concentrating, if not reducing, its numerical strength. This stands as a unique fact and raises problems of general genetic, economic, and sociological import. All students of basic social problems will be interested in the

succeeding volumes in this series, which promise more penetrating studies of the population problems involved.

*American Museum  
of Natural History.*

CLARK WISSLER.

**CONTROLLED POWER: A STUDY OF LAZINESS AND ACHIEVEMENT.** By Arthur Holmes. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1924, xiii, 219 pp. \$3.00.

The title of this book scarcely does it justice. Professor Holmes has given us an intensely interesting and valuable study of the conditions of personality efficiency. Emotionally hostile as we may have become to the word, efficiency, it has, in spite of its exploitation in the industrial vocabulary, a serious significance of the individual who wishes to put to use his full capacity or who seeks to aid others in getting from opportunity its full measure of success. For students and social workers and especially for teachers and parents the book has information of great value. It also furnishes a striking illustration of the great difference between the inspirational moralizing of books on "success" and a scientific explanation of achievement. As the author says: "In place of the out-worn appeals to the will, the method of modern psychology is described by which entirely new sentiments may be developed toward work." For example, contrast a discussion of idleness according to the following outline with orthodox preachments on the subject.

*Causes of idleness*

I. Physical

A. Organic:

- a. Diseases
- b. Wounds

B. Functional:

- a. Nervous affections

- b. Poisons
- c. Auto-intoxications

II. Mental

A. Natural:

- a. Instinctive
- b. Temperamental

B. Unnatural:

- a. Indolence in general
- b. Habit
- c. Fatigue

The material of the book is indicated by the following chapter headings: Idleness and Indolence, That Tired Feeling, Misfits, The Indolence of Genius, Plateaus of Ease, Natural-Born Laziness of Youth, Partial Idleness, Mental Laziness, The Plan of Battle, Conquest of Siege.

The second chapter, on That Tired Feeling, explains why the hectic American finds such difficulty in learning the difference between laziness and overwork. The author is wrong, however, in stating that this is a fault of the American male. The records of nervous breakdown clearly reveal that women as well as men mistake fatigue for laziness. This sane chapter deserves a printing by itself and an audience as great as applauded James' famous chapter on habit, to which its criticism of the doctrine of the second wind is a wise antidote. The author, however, makes too much of the driving motive of ambition for distinction and too little of the spur of economic need.

I have not seen Holmes' book on display in the shop windows, but for valuable concrete suggestions concerning work and play it is worth a ton of the *psychological* (?) rubbish usually there.

ERNEST R. GROVES.

*Boston University.*

**UNMASKING OUR MINDS.** By David Seabury. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1924, xxviii, 429 pp. \$3.50.

The author of this book with the selling title thus makes his bow to sociology: "Psychology . . . is the least of im-

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portant subjects until sociology requires it." It is perhaps worth while for sociologists to glimpse, in a book such as this, what "practical psychology" may mean to the laity. It is a popularization, or potpourri, of recent psychologies, with a praiseworthy if not altogether successful attempt to avoid their repellent vocabularies. The author's own doctrine purports to be "centralism," a variety of vitalism, not vital to the book itself. The work is eclectic but not synthetic.

Practically every phase of human behavior is in turn contrasted with the "true self," which, however, eludes his definition. The "true self" may be the self that the doctor wishes upon the patient, or the one that answers the ad; "Now you see it and now you don't."

One is given, at the start, a rather fatuous sense of comforting intimacy and relaxed colloquialism. At the finish, the expected and expectant public is still groping, whether it knows it or not. Occasional vague appeals to reader-confidence alternate with frequent assurances that each principle in turn is the most important or indispensable. Slurring the commercialized "Increase Your Power Over Men" books, it little betters them. It is calculated to stimulate more worry than it allays.

In attempting to meet the reader halfway, the author uses many metaphors, sometimes mixed and not always sound. Many of the illustrative cases are more profitable than the explanations thereof. The style is wordy and repetitious, and the book is probably based upon lecture material. Frequent petty but tell-tale errors appear: "sickled o'er," "stimuli is," "the instinctive horseman," "massochism," "amamism," "passional," "educio," "neuraesthesia," "erotomania."

Among the best spots in the book are those on the effects of imagination upon

will and action (pp. 233-4) and the contrast between intelligence and understanding (pp. 288-9). The lack of system in the arrangement is in part overcome by a cross-index. The quotations are none of them referenced. The bibliography, however, contains the names of many books far better worth the reader's attention.

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APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY. By H. L. Hollingworth and A. T. Poffenberger. New edition, enlarged and revised, New York: D. Appleton, 1923, 431 p. \$3.50.

In accepted usage today the term *applied* preceding the term *psychology* may mean psychological technique and content applicable to the various uses of society or it may mean a stimulating (possibly) collection of exaggerated trivialities clothed in scientific phraseology. The revised and enlarged edition of the *Applied Psychology* by Hollingworth and Poffenberger realizes its aim of constituting "a systematic sketch of the problems, methods, and typical results" of psychology applied to practical uses and is undoubtedly the best general survey of its kind available, the only other book at all comparable to it from the scientific point of view being Ewer's *Applied Psychology* (1923). The original edition of 1917 of the Hollingworth and Poffenberger volume has been reworked in treatment and style until it is pedagogically almost a model, with one or two chapters as exceptions, in clearness, simplicity and synthetic presentation.

"When one considers the matter he will find" state the writers in the first chapter on Efficiency and Psychology, "that all social and business life has for its foundation the assumption that the behavior of human beings can be controlled and pre-



dicted with great certainty. . . . In the following pages we shall consider the *field of applied psychology to be every situation in which human behavior is involved and where economy of human energy is of practical importance.* . . . Our plan will be to study first the behavior of the individual and its economy or efficiency without reference to any particular sorts of occupation. Then we will show how these conditions of efficiency may be observed in the various larger and more important fields of human activity. . . . *the individual is the unit of action, and all advances in this science must rest upon a knowledge of the laws of individual behavior, and the conditions which affect it.*"

Considering the general uses of psychology a survey is made of the native and acquired tendencies of human nature. To these and to a consideration of the environmental factors affecting efficiency generally, slightly more than half of the book is given over. There is a chapter upon "The Influence of Heredity upon Achievement," indicating briefly the physiological basis of action, discussing the common inherited tendencies, e.g., the reflex, instinct, mentioning the facts of racial inheritance, but finding considerable difficulty in making this knowledge of personal significance. The problems of physical and mental inheritance are next considered, of which there is found an excellent statement and eugenic suggestions. Motor and ideational learning are treated separately, the writers following Thorndike's questionable concept of "satisfiedness" as stamping in the correct response. This chapter is probably the clearest elementary statement upon learning to be found in any educational text. The significance of imagery, the transfer of training and the training effects upon individual differences is discussed. Thinking is analyzed as the

entering in of mental trial and error. The chapter upon thinking is an excellent pedagogical assignment in how to study, following mostly the ideas of John Dewey. The elementary laws of suggestion are discussed, followed by the most technical chapter in the book, an excellent summary of the literature upon the influence of sex and age upon efficiency. In the section on environmental factors, such as ventilation, climatic and seasonal changes and barometric pressure, illumination and distractions of the worker, the reader is inclined to wonder if psychology does not suffer by invading too deeply the field of industrial hygiene, or in the consideration of work, fatigue and rest, by taking over too much of the problem of the physical hygienist. With a brief treatment of the effect of drugs and stimulants in which the confusion of results and the importance of individual differences is emphasized the discussion of the general uses of psychological knowledge closes.

The last half of the book considers the fields of application. The methods of application are designated as (a) the application of psychological attitude; (b) the application of psychological knowledge; (c) the application of psychological technique. Differences between these three methods are not clear, and it is difficult to see how an "attitude" may be "applied." The various fields are next discussed under the following headings: Psychology and the Executive, Psychology in the Workshop, Psychology and the Market, Psychology and the Law, Psychology and the Social Worker, Psychology and Medicine, Psychology and Education. These chapters are excellent brief summary statements of the fields of application. The first two particularly fill a need for an elementary summary of the field of industrial psychology. Throughout the significance of the in-

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dividualization of the application is stressed. In considering Psychology and the Law the following statement is of interest: "In so far as the malefactor is mentally sick, nervously degenerate or psychologically maladjusted to the conditions of social life, the individualization of corrective measures must keep pace with the individualization of pedagogy and of industry and management" (p. 315).

The entire book suffers from being weighted down with non-psychological material. This is particularly true in consideration of the environmental factors. Far more essential to an applied psychology than the laws of heredity is a treatment of mental measurement, the facts of which are indeed mentioned but in scattered fashion and without receiving the adequate treatment to which their importance to applied psychology entitles them. Also the significance of interest to applied psychology has no general treatment, there being only a few scattered references to the subject under the topics of monotony, incentives and the like. Throughout the volume there appears considerable repetition of content, perhaps inevitable in view of the double treatment, a general and a specific, adopted by the writers. There is again duplication of content in surveying the fields of application. It would seem that a method which necessitates so much repetition is not the best method for handling the material. What would constitute a better method the reviewer is at a loss to say but he is convinced that the ideal applied psychology is not represented even in this admirable treatment. In fact it seems questionable whether there can be a general applied psychology different, in any but illustrative material, from a general pure psychology, and it would seem that applied psychology will be most adequately represented only in distinct treat-

ments of the fields of special application—which is, indeed, what is actually taking place as the literature of the special branches accumulates.

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INSTINCT, INTELLIGENCE AND CHARACTER: AN EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Godfrey H. Thomson, Ph.D. New York: Longmans, Green, 1925. 282 p. \$2.50.

This book is the result of a year's lecturing upon Educational Psychology at Teachers College, Columbia. It is full of practical suggestions for the teacher, accumulated throughout years of experience with educational problems, and assembles within the covers of one book a digest of much of the experimental work performed in England. The book might be used as text for an advanced class but it will be especially valuable as reference reading. It has the flowing style, more or less characteristic of British writers, not too exact or documented, as regards sources, but furnishing the reader with much stimulating information of a concrete nature.

It follows somewhat the traditional lines of American textbooks of educational psychology in the plan of treatment. It commences with a discussion of the laws of heredity and the instincts. The learning process is conceived to be based upon plasticity of response. Thorndike's theoretical analysis of the learning process is followed, learning being considered due to repetition and chance success. The successful response is thought to be stamped in because of the satisfaction derived. "In a habit, the nerve connections have to be made by exercise and satisfaction" (p. 16).

The way man's mind has grown out of the animal mind is the thread that runs through the book. Especially has the

attempt been made to trade the development of trial and error processes, which is the composition of all mental life.

There is trial and error first among acts, then among images, and then among symbols. Instinctive behavior is at first blind but among the higher forms of life is inexact and indefinite. If an animal does not always react in the same way to a situation, then education is possible and habits can be formed quite different from the response due to the inherited tendency. Multiple response to the same situation is necessary to learning. It permits trial and error learning. But between the muscular response to a situation and the intellectual response the difference is only a matter of degree and those degrees are degrees of added abstraction. Thinking commences in active trial and error behavior. The distance sense organs enable the organism to perform trial and error at a distance from but facing the situation—perceptual trial and error. Imagery born out of the sense experience enables us to perform trial and error activity away from the situation but with concrete memory images of the situation. And finally symbols, abstract images, come to replace those concrete images. Words are essential to this trial and error. In this outline of the learning process, upon which the book is somewhat loosely built, play is considered to be the essential factor in education. In play the trial and error process functions before responses are of significant survival value. Play is the means whereby instinct is reformed.

Throughout the book there are numerous practical hints of a general nature for the educator. Educational problems, such as the significance of formal discipline and the transfer of training, the recapitulation theory, the question of values, etc., are discussed in masterly fashion. Particularly excellent for the

educational psychologist are the chapters upon imagery, individual differences, intelligence and achievement tests. The book is well-balanced, not over-burdened with quantitative material as such a book is likely to be today. Throughout a sort of genetic plot is followed but the book neglects to a very considerable degree the contributions of American Psychologists to genetic psychology, while making use of a great deal of the American work on educational measurement.

DOUGLAS FRYER,

*New York University.*

**SECRET SOCIETIES AND SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENTS.**

By Nesta H. Webster. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, xii, 419 pp. \$7.00.

Mrs. Webster begins her impressive volume with the complaint that the Englishman is unwilling to treat the menace of secret societies seriously, so that "Like the West American (sic) farmer, confronted for the first time by the sight of a giraffe, his impulse is to cry out angrily: 'I don't believe it!'" The author leaves no ground for such incredulity, if abundance of material can cure it. Her argument runs substantially as follows:

From earliest times secret societies have existed, handing down to their initiates, and through an overlapping membership, to succeeding groups, a secret tradition, derived perhaps from "the first patriarchs of the world." Certain characteristics have reappeared so commonly as to be typical: each society has three general grades—first, the novitiates, who know little or nothing about the order; second, the great body of members, who have taken the oaths and who are often "bursting with importance," but who really know little more than the novitiates; and third, the small directing group

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of real initiates—"hidden superiors," whose existence even is frequently unknown, to the members as a whole. Furthermore, the essential tenets of such orders are rarely committed to writing, but are transmitted orally, by these higher initiates, apparently from the day of creation to the present. Obviously, such a form of organization presents great difficulties to the historian, as well as boundless opportunity to the romancer.

In tracing this continuous tradition, Mrs. Webster begins naturally enough with the East. After reviewing briefly the Eleusinian and kindred mysteries, she turns to the Cabala, which she regards as the *diabolus ex machina*. This storehouse of Jewish esoteric doctrine, based—apparently—on oral tradition which Moses had acquired in Egypt, or perhaps on Mt. Sinai—soon degenerated into the "false and magical Cabala of the children of Cain."

During the early centuries of our era, sects such as the Gnostics and the Manicheans preserved magic practises and doctrines of the East, which were passed on through the Paulicians, the Cathari, the Albigenses, and so forth. Islam also developed unorthodox forms, which more than the above-named group were subversive in a political as well as a religious sense—a tendency which found its fullest expression in the Assassins.

The main channel, through which these eastern doctrines flowed to the West, were the Templars, on whose guilt Mrs. Webster expatiates at length. That they were not extinguished, but continued down to modern times, supplying the motive force for many later movements, she regards as probable.

From the nominal destruction of the Templars to the French Revolution the perpetuation of ideas was evidenced by many apparently sporadic movements, such as Satanism, witchcraft, and Rosi-

crusianism. In all these Mrs. Webster sees the evil influence of the Cabala. In the eighteenth century evidences come thick and fast: Grand Orient Masonry, Illuminism, the Stricte Observance, even the Encyclopedists, combined to make inevitable the cataclysm of the French Revolution. The theory is elaborated that Frederick the Great, aided by Voltaire, was the moving spirit of these orders, using them for his purpose of destroying the French monarchy. The Revolution itself is regarded as the work of a "most secret convention," above the visible convention, above Robes pierre; and as the "outcome of a continuous plot against the Christian religion."

Three-fifths of the book is thus occupied in tracing the history of subversive movements; the remainder is devoted to a discussion of present dangers. One of the gravest of these Mrs. Webster considers to be Grand Orient Masonry. It should be noted that she goes out of her way to exonerate British Freemasonry, even linking it in unexpected partnership with the Roman Catholic church, saying "they provide the two strongest bulwarks against the occult forces of revolution." Luckily the American type is "worked" in the same manner as the British. The continental form, however, is essentially political and subversive, based not on Christianity, but on the dangerous trinity of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Mrs. Webster is delightful in differentiating between "brotherhood" as understood by the two branches of Freemasonry: "The British Freemason . . . cannot seriously regard himself as the brother of the Bamute pygmy or the Polynesian cannibal, thus he uses the term merely in a vague and theoretical sense." A few lines above, she mentions that the British Masons interpret brotherhood from "an entirely Christian standpoint."

The many other dangerous movements

in the modern world, Mrs. Webster classifies under Theosophy, with its ramifications; nationalism of an aggressive kind, now represented by Pan-Germanism; international finance; and social revolution. All these, she finds, are never anti-German and never anti-Jewish; but they are all anti-Christian. She seeks, without being quite sure she has found, a single force back of all subversive movements; it is obvious that she is inclined to assign this preëminent position to Judaism. Her concluding paragraph, however, pushes the search still further back: "In looking back over the centuries at the dark episodes that have marked the history of the human race from its earliest origins—strange and horrible cults, waves of witchcraft, blasphemies, and desecrations—how is it possible to ignore the existence of an Occult Power at work in the world? Individuals, sects, or races fired with the desire of world-domination, have provided the fighting forces of destruction, but behind them are the veritable powers of darkness in eternal conflict with the powers of light." What is this but the eastern dualism repeatedly denounced as heresy?

Some good things may be said about the book. Obviously, it is based on an immense amount of research, and enthusiasm, and it is well documented in the sense that it has plenty of foot-notes. The use of "private communications to the author" is to say the least excessive, and the declaration on page 386, "The Lusk Report must therefore be regarded as an absolutely impartial statement of facts," emphasizes the suspicion that not a little of the source material is just about as reliable as that famous document.

Still worse, however, is a quality of mind best illustrated by quotation (p. 17): "The fact that many Christian doctrines,

such as the conception of a Trinity, the miraculous birth and murder of a Diety, had found a place in earlier religions has frequently been used as an argument to show . . . that the Christian religion is founded on a myth. . . . May not the fact that certain circumstances in the life of Christ were foreshadowed by earlier religions indicate, as Eliphas Levi observes, that the ancients had an intuition of Christian mysteries?"

Can the "will to believe" go further? Again, on page 22, Mrs. Webster observes: "It is perhaps not sufficiently known that the Koran . . . confirms in beautiful language the story of the Annunciation and the Doctrines of the Miraculous Conception."

It is cause for real regret that so much industry should be vitiated by so uncritical a spirit, for undoubtedly the subject deserves the attention of historians, and undoubtedly, too, not a few of Mrs. Webster's contentions are true. But an indictment fails to convince which embraces not only Theosophy, Bolshevism, and Zionism, but also psycho-analysis, Esperanto, Neo-Malthusianism, modern art, the cinema and the press, in one grand conglomeration of "subversive" influences; and which after 400 large pages condemning secret societies, offers as the sole hope of civilization, the establishment of Fascismo in every country.

Mrs. Webster shows us, not a giraffe, nor even a boa-constrictor, but a many-headed hydra, breathing fire; and still we cry: "I don't believe it."

But . . . there must be a public eager to believe it, or publishers would not bring out a seven-dollar edition on two continents. Perhaps Barnum was right.

ELISABETH ANTHONY DEXTER.

Skidmore College.

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## BROCHURES

DEBATES: THE CENSORSHIP OF BOOKS. By John S. Sumner versus Ernest Boyd.

CAN THE SOVIET IDEA TAKE HOLD OF AMERICA, ENGLAND AND FRANCE? By Bertrand Russell versus Scott Nearing.

THAT CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IS A WISE PUBLIC POLICY. By Clarence Darrow versus Judge Alfred J. Talley. New York: The League for Public Discussion, 1924. \$1.00 each.

THE ABOLITION OF WAR. By Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1924. \$.15.

CATHOLIC, JEW, KU KLUX KLAN. By George S. Clason (ed.). Chicago: The Nutshell Publishing Co., 1924. \$.25.

"WE, THE PEOPLE"—THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES WITH COMMENT AND EXPLANATION. By Alvin M. Higgins. Chicago: World Book Co., 1924.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE. By Father Paul B. Bull, C. R. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1924.

MR. BOYD upheld the affirmative proposition: that limitations upon the contents of books and magazines as defined in proposed legislation would be detrimental to the advancement of American literature. Mr. Boyd gave a brief analysis of the question at issue and took up the point whether literature is interested in morals or in art. He quotes published statements of his opponent that the literature coming from "degenerate countries or from the Freudian theories" does not appeal "to the man or woman who has the American spirit." Mr. Boyd expends rather telling sarcasm on the abused and ambiguous phrase "American spirit." He builds up the remainder of his argument on philosophical, historical and philological premises, indulging in the argumentum ad hominem and emphasizing the impossibility of finding a definition of what is obscene without the element of subjective prudery invalidating the definition as a criterion.

In replying Mr. Sumner launches an attack upon his opponent's alleged at-

tempt to confuse the issue and misunderstand the question. He dwells at length upon court procedure in handling prosecutions of "indecent" publications. Mr. Sumner emits a lexicon of synonyms in giving the history of cases no one of which escapes Mr. Boyd's troublesome point that the application of these words in censorship necessarily implies the claim of infallibility of moral judgment by the censor or the judge, a claim that only one man dares to assert and one that has not exactly won the unanimous assent of mankind to date. By implication he next assumes that the American people are unread and wish to remain so and admits this, "I don't claim to know anything about literature" (p. 42). Thus Mr. Sumner establishes his right to stand with the majority. As he grows more confused and excited, Mr. Sumner draws hisses from the audience for indulging too liberally in the argumentum ad baculum and finishes with an encomium of the purity of the typical English and American mind. Mr. Boyd's rebuttal nicely included the Bible under Mr. Sumner's definition of obscenity and completely riddled the entire position of the negative side. Mr. Sumner's replies were a revelation of moral superiority and solicitude of the virtue of the people—and perfect evasion of his opponent's consistent logic.

The debate between the two social philosophers Russel and Nearing differs from the Sumner-Boyd fracas considerably. It deserves reading as a matter of instruction as well as for mere intellectual stimulation. Dr. Nearing in upholding the proposition: that the Soviet form of Government is applicable to western civilization," followed strictly along socio-economic lines and argued with forceful and convincing diction. He presented the learned Professor Russell with a



syllogism that would warm the heart of any logician (p. 26) and developed the premises perfectly. Through it all the brilliant teacher and idealist was quite visible in the person of the debater. Dr. Nearing rested his argument on the grounds that Sovietism is a transitional state, that capitalism is passing and that before the new order is established society must pass through a transitional status and that this will take the form of Sovietism. Professor Russell's argument was developed from a universal major that, cataclysm or none, Sovietism could not be established *ad interim* in the western world. Professor Russell took up the historical points offered by Dr. Nearing and with considerable skill, but despite his subtle reasoning and keen analysis he seemed to the reviewer to miss somewhat certain of his opponent's arguments. Taking his whole development, if the reviewer may be permitted an opinion of the merits of the case, as well as of the method and content, of Professor Russell's argument, it would appear that he decidedly won the debate. Dr. Nearing's refutation was admirably stated stressing his major point that Sovietism is transitional and, in the nature of things, inevitable. Professor Russell concluded his excellent refutation by reiterating his point of the difference in social and cultural development of the western nations as compared with Russia. The debate is an example of clear reasoning and well worth reading whether from a viewpoint of the technique involved or as a profoundly brilliant summary of the history of revolutions. Irrespective of the question discussed, the debate would serve as a very nearly perfect model of argumentation.

The debate on capital punishment was, insofar as it was intended as a clarifying exposition of two conflicting opinions

upon an important phase of penology, about as futile as a high school debate, than which there is nothing more futile on the planet unless it be the decision of the judges. Judge Alfred J. Talley argued for the electric chair and the gallows on the basis that the law "must be vindictive—not vindictive in the sense of revengeful, but it must be imposed so that the law and its majesty and sanctity may be vindicated." His Honor's arguments revealed one thing clearly, that he missed his true calling as a hangman and his admitted ignorance of psychology and criminology attest that perhaps he was born too late and might have earned a high place in the annals of the Inquisition. Attorney Darrow missed a great opportunity because of his sentimental approach, but must be excused in part because he was forced to come down to the level of his opponent's intelligence.

The pamphlet by Messrs. Eddy and Page is rather exhaustive and on the whole very good. It is authoritative and reveals a clear understanding of the problems facing those whose idealism leads them to subscribe to the sentiments expressed in *The Abolition of War*. Among the numerous brochures opposing war that have come to the reviewer's attention, this is easily the best.

A Catholic, a Jew and a member of the Ku Klux Klan voice the sentiments of their respective groups in the following symposium. The negro is not represented. The last two chapters, written by the editor, Mr. Clason, are the only chapters worth reading as the others are apologetic and of no value to the student of social phenomena.

The brief and entirely misleading summary of the Constitution and its meaning opens with a gross error in chronology by stating that the Constitutional Convention met in the old state house of Phil-

adelphia in the Declaration of Independence issued two booklets in the average correct attention from perusing of Trent. in the introduction of the most important attention. studied in And further way in w elemental it by discipl and woven of a god. quotations adequate a Fr. Bull. ment of th Scripture a biology of heading s

adelphia in the summer of 1787, "where the Declaration of Independence had been issued twenty-one years before." The booklet is published for the benefit of the average citizen who may gain as correct an understanding of the Constitution from reading it as he would by perusing the catechism of the Council of Trent. "Marriage and Divorce" states in the introduction that "Marriage is one of the most complex as one of the most important subjects which can engage our attention. . . . It has to be studied in the mind of God. . . . " And further states, "We are to learn the way in which our Creator has taken an elemental animal impulse, has purified it by discipline, refined it by self-sacrifice, and woven it up to become the perfection of a god." It would seem that a few quotations of such blather would be adequate as a review of the booklet of Fr. Bull. The author gives the development of the present marriage laws from Scripture and then offers a chapter on the biology of the question, and under this heading shows by quotation from J.

Arthur Thompson, that monogamy is found among "the seal, the hippopotamus, the gazelle, the squirrel, the mole, the mongoose, and so on." Very scientific and a new departure in biology. A brief passage speaks of "marriage in the state of innocence before the fall." The reason given for enforcing the Christian standard on non-Christians is "that the law of marriage is antecedent to both Church and State" and is "a law of God" and obviously only a Christian of the Anglican and Catholic persuasions can know what is in the mind of God. This learned theologian has enriched the world with a brochure that may be safely recommended for spiritual reading in convents. Fortunately some progress has taken place in certain countries, notably Sweden, in solving the problems associated with the marriage question, but not a great deal is to be expected in that direction while the influence of theologians, the interpreters of God's mind, continues in western civilization.

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